Vol. 30 Pt. I 1955

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

(New Series)

Edited By:

CONTENTS PAGE

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

June, 1955

LONDON AGENTS :

ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Committee of Management for the years 1955-56 and 1956-57

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

VOL. 30 | 1955 | PARTS 1 & 2

YAVANESVARA AND UTPALA

BY

P. V. KANE

In my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' contributed to the Journal of the B.B.R.A. Society, New Series, Vol. 24-25 for 1948-49, I drew particular attention to the views of Yavanas and Yavaneśvara referred to by Varāhamihira (pp. 19-20) and Utpala. Utpala on *Bṛhajjātaka* 7.9 states that one Sphujidhvaja wrote a work on Jātaka after the beginning of the Śaka era, that there were Yavana teachers who wrote before Sphujidhvaja, that Varāhamihira mentions the views of ancient Yavanācāryas (that preceded Sphujidhvaja), that he (Utpala) had not seen the writings of the ancient Yavanācāryas and that he had only seen the work of Sphujidhvaja. Since then I have been trying to secure MSS on Jātaka attributed to Yavanas. In Dr. Haraprasad Sastri's notes on Palm-leaf MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Nepal (J.A.S.B. Vol. 66 pp. 310-12) there is a brief account of a complete copy of Yavana-jātaka. From the extracts of the end of the MS (which have some gaps) it appears that in the year 91 (Viṣṇugraha) of some era,[1] Yavaneśvara translated from his own language into the Sanskrit language Yavana Horāśāstra, that king Sphujidhvaja rendered the translation into 4000 Indravajrā verses in the year 191. Owing to unsettled conditions in Nepal, I have not been able to secure either this Nepal MS or a transcript, even after several months of correspondence.† Therefore, I turned my attention to other MSS of Yavana-jātaka. I have been able to find about a dozen MSS described as Yavana-jātaka. All of them are different from the Nepal MS and some of them differ among themselves. It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to describe these MSS at length, but it would not be out of place to

---

[1] Looking to all the circumstances I conjecture that the era was probably Gupta.

† While this matter was in the press, the Indian Ambassador at Khatmandu, through the good offices of Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has been allowed by the Nepal Durbar to make for my use a Devanagari transcript of part of the MS. (which is written in the Newari script).

refer to them briefly. In the catalogue of the Bombay University's Sanskrit MSS collections prepared by Prof. Devasthali, there are two MSS, No. 502 and No. 503, the first being called Yavana-jātaka and the second Laghu-Yavanajātaka of Yavanācārya. The first is incomplete and has only 86 folios, all being damaged in the left hand corner. In the first it is said that sage Kaśyapa asked Yavana sitting on his throne about the astrological results of being born on one of the five items in an almanac (pañcāṅga) *viz* tithi, vāra, nakṣatra, yoga and karaṇa. The Laghu-Yavanajātaka in Prof. Devasthali's catalogue has 79 folios and begins and ends abruptly. In the Ānandāśrama collection of Sanskrit MSS at Poona, there are two MSS, Nos. 1891 and 8265, that agree except in a few matters and describe themselves as setting out the astrological results of Yavanīya-jātaka. In the Deccan College collection of MSS lodged at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute there are two MSS of Yavana-jātaka (D.C. No. 389 of 1882-83, and D.C. No. 558 of 1899-1915). The first is incomplete, the first 50 folios being wanting. It is an old MS dated Saṁvat 1621, Śake 1486 Phālguna śu 1 Thursday (i.e. 1565 A.D.). The second is a valuable MS, though some portion at the end is lost. In the colophon it is described as Vṛddhayavana-jātaka and is also called Mīnarāja-jātaka composed by Yavaneśvarācārya. The India Office has a MS of this Mīnarāja-jātaka described in the catalogue of the India Office Library MSS, Vol. II, p. 1096, No. 3073. Through the kindness of the Librarian I was able to have this MS brought to the Bombay University Library. It contains no date of copying and the D.C. MS No. 558 of 1899-1915 also contains no date of copying. In the Oriental Institute at Baroda there are two MSS of Vṛddhayavana-jātaka or Mīnarāja-jātaka, one of which (Accession No. 9183) was very kindly placed for my use in the Bombay University Library by the Director Prof. G. H. Bhatt. This MS was copied in Saṁvat 1891 Śake 1756 (i.e. 1834 A.D.). In the Scindia Oriental Institute at Ujjain, I was able to read a MS of the Vṛddhayavana-jātaka of Mīnarāja (Register No. 9503). At the end occurs a verse, about the date of copying the MS *viz.*, the scribe called Lāla copied the MS in Śaka year 1449, the cyclical year being Sarvajit in the month of Āṣāḍha on 9th tithi and on Sunday.[2]

I have very carefully compared the four MSS *viz.*, that in the I.O. Library, the one from Baroda, the D.C. MS No. 558 of 1899-1915 and the MS at Ujjain. They all agree very closely (except for a verse here and there) and are probably copies of the same original, but not of each other. The reasons for this opinion would be rather irrelevant for the purposes of this paper. The prevailing metre in the work is Upajāti or Indravajrā. There are 144 Āryā verses, a few Anuṣṭubh verses and one Śārdūlavikrīḍita (at the beginning of the Rājayogādhyāya).

---

[2] नवाब्धीन्द्रमिते शाके १६६९ (*sic?*) सर्वजिच्छुचिसंज्ञके ।
नवम्यां भानुवारे [च] ह्यलिखल्लालसंज्ञकः ॥ नवाब्धीन्द्र should be equal to 1449.

Utpala in his commentary on *Bṛhajjātaka* 1.5[3] quotes from Yavaneśvara twelve verses describing the appearance[4] of the Rāśis and the animals, landscapes and objects over which they are supposed to rule.

I have discovered that these twelve verses are all found in the four MSS of the Vṛddhavavana-jātaka of Yavanācārya Mīnarāja described above.

I cite below eighteen verses from the MSS., three verses preceding the twelve about rāśisvarūpa and three following them.

One verse[5] at the beginning of the chapter on 'dreams' that occurs in all the four MSS is: that (Science of) prognostication which bears witness to the actions of a man done in his previous lives and which was propounded by Brahmā in various forms was abridged by Mīnarāja, the sovereign lord of Yavanas and made more substantial.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।[6]

अथ वृद्धयवनजातकं लिख्यते

सृष्टौ विधात्रे जगतां शिवाय संहारकाले स्थितयेऽच्युताय ।
तुभ्यं नमः सर्वगताय नित्यं त्रयीमयायामलभास्कराय ॥१॥
यदुक्तवान् पूर्वमुनिस्तु शास्त्रं होरामयं लक्षमितं मयाय ।
तं मीनराजो निपुणं स्वबुद्ध्या विचिन्त्य चक्रेऽष्टसहस्रमात्रम् ॥२॥

---

[3] मत्स्यौ घटी नृमिथुनं सगदं सवीणं चापी नरोऽश्वजघनो मकरो मृगास्यः ।
तौली ससस्यदहना प्लवगा च कन्या शेषाः स्वनामसदृशाः स्वचराश्च सर्वे ॥ वृहज्जातक I. 5

[4] Utpala notes that these descriptions in Yavaneśvara are helpful in guessing the place where an article lost or stolen may be found.

[5] प्राग् ब्रह्मणा प्रोक्तमनेकरूपं यच्छाकुनं पूर्वजकर्मसाक्ष्यम्। तन्मीनराजो यवनाधिराजः समासतः सारतरं चकार ॥ fol. 233*b* of Baroda Ms., 234*a* of D.C. No. 558 of 1899–1915, folio 217b and 218a of S, which interpolates a half verse between the two-half verses, viz. तस्माद् विशुद्ध्या मनसः प्रकार्यं कृत्यं विशेषेण विशेषयानम्. This appears to be a mistake of the copyist, who took up the half verse from the next verse.

N.B.—Only important variations are noted. B stands for Baroda MS, I.O. for India Office MS, D for the Deccan College MS (No. 558 of 1899–1915) of the *Vṛddhayavana-jātaka*, U for Utpala's Com. on the *Bṛhajjātaka* and S for the Scindia Oriental Institute MS.

[6] श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ वृद्धयवनजातकं लिख्यते । occur at the beginning of both B and I.O. S has श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ओं नमः शिवाय ।; D begins श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीमहागणपतये नमः । श्रीरेणुकायै नमः । श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ।
Verse 1—I.O. सृष्टेर्विधात्रे; D and S सृष्टयै विधात्रे
Verse 2—read तन्मीनराजो° for तं मीनराजो°

या पूर्वकर्मप्रभवस्य धात्री धात्रा ललाटे लिखिता प्रशस्तिः ।
तां शास्त्रमेतत् प्रकटं विधत्ते दीपो यथा वस्तु घनेंऽधकारे ॥३॥

आद्यः स्मृतो मेषसमानमूर्तिः कालस्य मूर्धा गदितः पुराणैः ।
सोऽजाविकासञ्चरकन्दराद्रिस्तेनाग्निधात्वाकररत्नभूमिः ॥४॥

वृषाकृतिस्तु प्रथितो द्वितीयः स वक्त्रकण्ठायतनं विधातुः ।
वनाद्रिसानुद्विपगोकुलानां कृषीवलानां च विहारभूमिः ॥५॥

वीणागदाभृन् मिथुनस्तृतीयः प्रजापतेः स्कन्धभुजप्रदेशः ।
प्रनर्तको गायनशिल्पिकस्त्रीक्रीडारतिद्यूतविहारभूमिः ॥६॥

कर्की कुलीराकृतिरम्बुसंस्थो वक्षःप्रदेशो विहितश्च धातुः ।
केदारवापीपुलिनानि तस्य देवाङ्गनानां च विहारभूमिः ॥७॥

सिंहस्तु शैले हृदयप्रदेशः प्रजापतेः पञ्चममाहुराद्याः ।
तस्याटवीदुर्गगुहावनाद्रि-प्रान्तावनीभूमिवनप्रदेशाः ॥८॥

प्रदीपिकां गृह्य करेण कन्यां नौस्थां जले षष्ठमिति ब्रुवन्ति ।
कालार्थधीरा जठरं विधातुः सशाद्वलस्त्रीरतिशिल्पभूमिः ॥९॥

वीथ्यां तुलापण्यधरो मनुष्यः स्थितः स नाभीकटिवस्तिदेशे ।
शुक्लार्थवीणापणपट्टनाध्वसार्थाधिवासोन्नतसस्यभूमिः ॥१०॥

श्वभ्रेऽष्टमो वृश्चिकविग्रहस्तु प्रोक्तः प्रभोर्मेढ्रगुदप्रदेशः ।
गुहाबिलश्वभ्रविषाश्मगुप्तिवल्मीककीटाजगराहिभूमिः ॥११॥

Verse 3—I.O. प्रशक्तिः; B प्रसक्तिः. U reads घनान्धकारे. B and S add after verse 3 'अथ द्वादशराशेर्विहारभूमिकथनम् ।'

Verse 4—B सोजाविकाशंचकरंदरिद्र°

Verse 5—I.O. विहारभूमी; U कृषीवलानामधिवासभूमिः ।

Verse 6—U मिथुनं तृतीयः...भुजांसदेशे; I.O. गायनशिल्पिकः स्त्री; UD गायनशि... रतिर्दूत०; U गायनशिल्पकस्त्री

Verse 7—U विहितश्च धातुः; U देवाङ्गनारम्य०

Verse 8—U हृदयप्रदेशे; I.O., D वनाद्रिवाह्यांवहाभूमि०; U वनाद्रिव्याधावनीदुर्गं०

Verse 9—B करेण कन्या नौस्था जले तिष्ठमिति; D and U कन्या नौस्था; I.O., S and D कालार्धधारा जठरं; U सशाद्वला.

Verse 10—I.O., D शुद्धार्थवीणापणपत्तनाय सर्वाधिवासो; I.O.,D. नभसस्य भूमिः; B शुक्लावीथ्यापण०; U शुक्लार्थवीथ्यापणपट्टणाध्वसार्धाधिवासोन्नतसस्यभूमिः ।. The latter half of v. 10 is corrupt; B probably had शुक्लार्थ before it, but omitted it while copying. शुक्लार्थ° makes some sense.

Verse 11—B and I.O. read विसाश्म; U श्वभ्रोष्टमो...प्रदेशे; U गुप्तिर्वल्मीक०.

धन्वी मनुष्यो हयपश्चिमार्धस्तमाहुरूरुं भुवनप्रणेतुः ।
समस्थितव्यस्तसमस्तवाजी (जि ?) कृतास्त्रभृद्वज्ञरथाश्वभूमिः ॥१२॥

मृगार्धपूर्वो मकरोम्वुमध्ये जानुप्रदेशं तमुशन्ति धातुः ।
नदीवनारण्यसरोजरूपश्वभ्राधिवासो दशमः प्रदिष्टः ॥१३॥

स्कन्धे तु रिक्तः पुरुषस्य कुम्भो जङ्घे तमेकादशमाहुराद्याः ।
तस्योदकाधारकुसस्यपक्षिस्त्रीशौण्डिकद्यूतनिवेशदेशाः ॥१४॥

जले तु मीनद्वयमन्त्यराशिः कालस्य पादौ कथितौ वरिष्ठौ ।
स पुण्यदेवद्विजतीर्थभूमिर्नदीसमुद्राम्वुधरो (रा) धिवासः ॥१५॥

इदं जगत्स्थावरजङ्गमाख्यं सर्वं रवीन्द्रात्मकमाहुराद्याः ।
तस्योद्भवोऽत्रापचयश्च दृष्टो भमण्डलेऽप्येव तदात्मकं तत् ॥१६॥

तस्याद्यमार्कं विहितं मघादि सार्पादिचान्द्रं विहितं परार्धम् ।
क्रमेण सूर्यः प्रददौ ग्रहाणां व्यस्तेन ताराधिपतिस्तथैव ॥१७॥

वुधस्य शुक्रस्य धरासुतस्य वृहस्पतेर्भास्करनन्दनस्य ।
द्वे द्वे गृहे तेषु यथानुरूपं फलं विधेयं निपुणं विदग्धैः ॥१८॥

These interesting verses may be translated as follows :—

(1) Salutation to thee, to the pure Sun, that is the three Vedas (that rests on the three Vedas), that at the time of the creation of the world is Brahmā, that is Śiva at the time of final destruction (of the worlds) and that is Acyuta (Viṣṇu) for the continued existence (of the worlds) and that is always all-pervading. (2) That Śāstra on astrology which the ancient sage[7] (Brahmā) declared to Maya consisting of one hundred thousand verses was closely reflected upon by Mīnarāja by the help of his own intellect and abridged only into eight

---

Verse 12—I.O. तमाहुरूरुर्भुवन॰; D and S तमाहुरूरू॰; U समस्तवाजिसुरास्त्रभृद्यज्ञरथाश्वभूमिः; D and S समस्थितं.

Verse 13—I.O. ॰ रण्यसराज्यनृप॰; U सरोद्यनृपश्वभ्राधिवासो.

Verse 14—B,D,I.O read जङ्घोरुमे॰ while S reads जङ्घोररेका॰; U आर्याः for आद्याः; U शुष्कोदकाधार...स्त्री॰; B,I.O. स्त्रीशौण्डद्यूतानि निवेशदेशाः. This reading spoils the metre. D reads स्त्रीशौण्डकद्यूत॰

Verse 15—U reads विहितौ for कथितौ and समुद्राम्बुचयाधिवासः. This last is preferable. B,D,S,I.O. read ॰ म्बुधरोधिवासः. Then it must be corrected into ॰ म्बुधराधिवासः.

Verse 16—All except S read भूमण्डल ॰.

[7] *Verse 2*—Brahmā is often spoken of as 'ancient sage' (purāṇo muniḥ); compare—विक्रमोर्वशीय I 'निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरमिदं रूपं पुराणो मुनिः ।'.

thousand (ślokas). (3) As a lamp discloses an object in pitch darkness, so this Śāstra makes manifest the writing engraved on the forehead (of a man) by Brahmā, (writing) which is the mother of everything that springs from one's actions in past lives. (4) The first (rāśi) Meṣa which has a form similar to a ram has been declared by the ancients as the head of Kāla, it is the receptacle (or site) of goats, ewes, their paths, caverns, mountains, thieves, fire, metals, mines and jewels.[8] (5) The second (rāśi) is well-known as having the form of a Bull and as the mouth and throat of the Creator, it is the territory (i.e. it has under its control) of forests, mountain peaks, elephants, herds of cows and agriculturists. (6) The third (rāśi) is Mithuna (Twins, Gemini) that carry (in their hands) a Vīṇā (lute) and a mace, it is the region of the shoulders and arms of Prajāpati, it is the territory of dancers, singers, craftsmen, women, sport, love and gambling.[9] (7) (the rāśi) Cancer is the 4th and has the form of a crab dwelling in water; it is laid down to be the region of the chest (of Prajāpati); its territory is fields under water, wells, sandy banks, and the goddesses (or Apsarases). (8) The ancients speak about the Lion on a mountain as the fifth (rāśi) representing the region of the heart of Prajāpati, its regions (i.e. its dominion extends over) are thickets, forts, caves, forests, mountainous regions and forests on level land.[10] (9) Those that are wise about Kāla declare as the 6th (rāśi) Kanyā (Maiden, Virgo) that sits in a boat in water, holding a torch in her hand; it is the stomach of the Creator and is the territory of grassy plots, women, love, crafts. (10) A man sitting in a market holding a Balance (Tulā, Libra) and articles for sale represents the region of the navel, the waist and the abdomen (of the Creator); it is the territory of clean (or white things), Vīṇā, market, a city, roads, encampments of traders, and high growing crops. (11) the 8th (rāśi) is in the form of a Scorpion in a hole and is declared to be the region of the penis and anus of the Creator; it is the territory of caves, holes, crevices, poisons, stones, ramparts, ant-hills, worms, boa-constrictors and snakes. (12) A man carrying a bow (Archer, Sagittarius) whose hind quarters are those of a horse is said to be the thigh of the Creator of the world; it is the territory of level land, of things cast about pell-mell, of things that are huddled together, or those that use aphrodisiacs, of those that carry weapons, of diamonds, chariots and

---

[8] *Verse 4*—वराहमिहिर himself mentions the limbs of Kāla, "कालाङ्गानि वराङ्गमाननमुरो हृत्क्रोडवासोभृतो बस्तिर्व्यञ्जनमूरुजानुयुगले जङ्घे ततोऽङ्घ्रिद्वयम् । मेषाश्विप्रथमा नवर्क्षचरणाश्चक्रस्थिता राशयो राशिक्षेत्र etc. ॥ बृहज्जातक I. 4. मेष and वृषभ are the head and mouth of काल and so on.

[9] Verse 6. It is difficult to construe प्रनर्तको with the following words. May we read प्रनर्तकोद्गायन० ?

[10] Verse 8. It is rather difficult to translate without tautology all the words in the 2nd half. The reading वाह्यांवहाभूमि might mean 'region containing palanquins'.

horses.[11] (13) The tenth is laid down to be Makara (Capricorn) in water with the forepart of a deer; they desire him to represent the knee of the Creator; the tenth (rāśi Makara) is declared to have as its territory thickets on rivers, forests, lotus, loveliness and crevices. (14) The ancients speak of the 11th (rāśi) which is an empty jar (Aquarius) on the shoulder of a male as representing the shanks (of the Creator); its territory (lit. country of foundation) is all reservoirs of water, bad crops, birds, women, vendors of wine and gambling.[12] (15) The last rāśi is a pair of fishes (Pisces) in water, they are declared to be the excellent feet of Kāla; it (12th rāśi) is (it governs) the holy land of gods, dvijas and places of pilgrimage; it dwells in rivers, seas and clouds. (16) The ancients say that all this world known as immovable and movable has its essence in the sun and the moon; its birth and decrease are seen here; the same applies to the circle of stars also as that (circle of stars) has those two (sun and moon) as its soul (or essence). (17) Its first half (of circle of nakṣatras) beginning with Maghā belongs to the sun, the other half beginning with Āśleṣā is the Moon's; the sun distributed the nakṣatras among the planets and the moon also did the same in reverse order. (18) Two houses are assigned to Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; the learned (astrologers) should carefully lay down the fruits (of astrological aspects) among them (the planets) according to the rules.

Utpala says that he had seen the work of Sphujidhavaja on Horā-śāstra, but he deos not say that he had read the work of Yavanācārya Mīnarāja. As a matter of fact, four MSS of Mīnarāja's work contain the twelve verses about the characteristics of the twelve rāśis that are quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala. Therefore, I guess that the same descriptive verses about the twelve rāśis occurred in the work of Sphujidhava, probably based on older works which were used by Varāha-mihira and also in Mīnarāja's work. When the MS from the Darbar Library comes to my hands, I may write on this matter again. The object of the present paper is to announce the discovery that the very same twelve verses which are quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala on Bṛhajjātaka 1·5 occur in the Vṛddhayavanjātaka composed by Yavanācārya Mīnarāja who is described as the overlord of Yavanas.

---

[11] Verse 12. It is difficult to consture all the words of the latter half. I have made an effort to give some meaning to each word.

[12] Verse 14. I must confess that the reading adopted for the 2nd half is purely conjectural; no single MS supports it.

Verses 17 and 18 explain why in Astrology the Sun and the Moon have only one house as their own (svagṛha) viz. Siṁha (for the Sun) and Crab for the Moon. The Siṁha-rāśi comprises the nakṣatras Maghā, Purvā and a part of Uttarā, while the Crab has Āśleṣā (the presiding deity of which is serpent), Puṣya and a part of Punarvasu. The Sun, being lord of Siṁha, gave the next rāśi (Kanyā) to the planet nearest to it after the Moon viz. Mercury and the Moon did the same in the opposite direction; therefore Mercury is the lord of Kanyā and Mithuna; Venus of Tulā and Vṛṣabha, Mars of Vṛścika and Meṣa and so on.

The name Mīnarāja is not necessarily non-Indian but it is not possible to shut our eyes to the fact that Menander, a Grecco-Bactrian king has been identified with Milinda of the Buddhist work 'Questions of Milinda'. Mīnarāja may be a Sanskrit rendering of a foreign word like Menandra. In the Bajaura Casket we have an inscription of the reign of king Minadra dated on the 14th day of Kārtika (vide E. I. Vol. 24 pp. 1-8); similarily in E. I. Vol. 27 p. 52 here is a reference to Menedrasa (of Menedra).

Supplementary note

After the paper was printed off I received from the Nepal Durbar, through the kind offices of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian Ambassador at Khatmandu, the Devanāgarī transcript of the palm-leaf Ms. of the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja in the Newārī script, pp. 2-10 and 98-102. The manuscript in the original appears to have gaps and is incorrect in many places. This work is entirely different from the *Yavanajātaka* of Mīnarāja described in my paper. The important point, however, is that the twelve verses about 'rāśisvarūpa' are the *same* in the Nepal Ms. and two verses, *viz.* 16 and 17 in my paper are also the same. Utpala says that he read the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja (and not of Mīnarāja) and then quoted these twelve verses about 'rāśisvarūpa' from Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja is also called a king and Yavaneśvara in the Nepal Ms. at the end.

Cf. इदं बभाषे निरवद्यवाक्यो होरार्थशास्त्रं यवनेश्वरः प्राक् ।
स्फुजिध्वजो नाम बभूव राजा य इन्द्रवज्राभिरिदं चकार ॥

The Ms. (which I call N) enables me to show the following various readings:—

V. 4—N reads सोजाविकाकन्दरसञ्चराद्रि०, V. 6—N reads मिथुनं तृतीये and भुजांसदेशः. V. 7—N reads प्रदेशोभिहितश्चतुर्थः and देवाङ्गनं रम्यविविक्तभूमिः. V. 9—N reads अभिब्रुवन्ति and नाभिकटिवस्तिदेशः. V. 12—N reads ० स्तमाहुरूरूभुवनप्रदेशः and समस्यवाजी. V. 14—N reads जङ्घे तमेकादशमाहुरस्य. V. 15—N reads कालस्य पादो विहितो वरिष्ठैः and नदीसमुद्राम्बुचराधिवासः. V. 16—N reads तस्योद्भवश्चापचयश्च दृष्टो भमण्डले. V. 17—N reads सर्पादि शाशाङ्कमतोऽपरार्धम् and क्षेत्राणि चान्द्राणि तयोत्क्रमेण.

P. V. KANE

HASTINĀPURA AND INDRAPRASTHA IN ANCIENT INDIA

By B. C. Law

Earlier and later capitals of Kururāṣṭra—a description of Hastināpura.

Hastināpura and Indraprastha were the earlier and later capitals of the Kuru kingdom. Hastināpura was hallowed by the birth of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. According to Pargiter the people of Hastināpura were not Kurus. But the name Kuru of the royal family was extended to their people and country according to a common Indian usage.[1] Hastināpura was a rich, prosperous, and populous city, where alms were easily obtainable. Close by there was a big and beautiful lake, full of lotuses, swans and cranes. It can be surmised to be the Dvaipāyanahrada (*riddhaṃ ca sphītaṃ ca kṣemaṃ ca subhikṣaṃ cākīrṇabahujanamanuṣyaṃ...tasmin ca nagare mahāhrada utpalakumudapuṇḍarīkahaṃsakāraṇḍavacakravākopaśobhito ramaṇīyaḥ*)[2]

Founder of the city. Different names of the city.

Hastināpura or Hāstinapura was named after king Hastin, great grandson of Bharata Dauṣyanti.[3] Pāṇini appears to know it as Hāstinapura (*Na Hāstinaphalaka mārdeyāḥ*—VI. 2.101). The *Mahābhārata* (Vol. I, p. 380 on Pāṇini II. 1.16) offers the illustration "*anugaṅgaṃ Hāstinapuraṃ.*"[4] According to the *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva, Ch. 95, v. 34) Hastī, son of Suhotra, built the city of Hāstinapura, hence it came to be so named (*ya [Hastī] idaṃ Hāstinapuraṃ sthāpayāmāsa etadasya Hāstinapuratvaṃ*). Hatthīpura[5] which was another name of Hastināpura, was built by one of the five sons of the Ceti king Upacara or Apacara on the spot where the king's son saw a white royal elephant (*sabbasetaṃ sattappatiṭṭhitaṃ hatthīratanaṃ passissasi, tāya paññāya tattha nagaraṃ māpetvā vasa, taṃ nagaraṃ Hatthīpuraṃ nāma bhavissati*).[6] It was also known as Hatthinīpura.[7] Hastināpura was also called Nāgasāhvaya, Gajasāhvaya,[8] and Vāraṇāhvaya. It was also known as Gajapura and Gajāhvaya.[9] The Gajāhvayas were connected with Hastināpura,[10] which was also called Nāgapura,[11] Nāgāhvaya[12] and Vāraṇasāhvaya.

---

1. *AIHT.*, p. 132.
2. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 435.
3. *Mbh.*, I, 95, 3787; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 165; *Matsyapurāṇa*, 49, 42; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV. 19, 10; *Harivaṃśa*, 20, 1053-54.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 68.13; *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, 95, 34; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* IX, 22.40; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 21.8; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 756.
5. *Apadāna*, II, p. 359.
6. *Jātaka*, III, p. 460. *Hatthiporikā. Jāt.* No. 422.
7. *Petavatthu Commy.* P.T.S., p. 201.
8. *Mbh.*, Ādip., CXIII, 4441, 4400.
9. *Ibid.*, Udyogaparva, CLXXVI, 6071.
10. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, LVIII, 9; *Bhāgavatap.*, I, 3.6; I,8.45; IV, 31.30; X.57.8; 1.0.48; 1.15.38; 1.17.44; III, 1.17; IX.22.40; X. 68.16.
11. *Ibid.*, 4461-62.
12. *Ibid.*, Ādiparva, CXXI, 5146.

Vāraṇāvata and Vāraṇasthala were identified with Hastināpura.[13]

Location. Neighbouring sacred place.

Hastināpura, which was called Hastnawer in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, was situated on the Upper Ganges about 60 miles to the north-east of Delhi. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*[14] it was one and half or two days' journey by chariot from Upaplavya. It was situated on the old bed of the Ganges, 22 miles north-east of Meerut. It was situated south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. According to Ptolemy Hastināpura was 24 miles south-west of Dārānagar and 11 miles to the west of the present Ganges.[15] It lay in Kurujāṅgala.[16] Hastināpura, the capital of the Kururāṣṭra[17] was traditionally identified with an old town in Mawana tahsil, 22 miles north-east of Meerut.[18] Kālidāsa mentions it as the capital of Duṣyanta in his *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam*.[19] Near it there was a sacred place called Śacītīrtha where Śakuntalā's ring was lost.[20]

Capital city. Hastināpura the Capital of one of the divisions of the realm of Ajamīḍha. Kings of Hastināpura.

Hastināpura was the capital of Duṣyanta and Bharata.[21] It was also the capital of Bharata's fifth successor Hastin. Ajamīḍha, one of the sons of Hastī, the founder of Hastināpur, continued the main Paurava line at Hastināpura. The realm of Ajamīḍha was divided on his death among his three sons. One of the divisions consisted of the main kingdom with Hastināpura as its capital.[22] According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 435) Hastināpura was the capital of Uttarapañcāla. According to the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (3rd Pallava, p. 116; 64th Pallava, p. 9) it was the capital of the Kuru kings. King Arjuna of Hastināpura was in the habit of killing those holy men who were unable to give satisfactory answers to his questions.[23] He put to death Gautama, a most amiable ancient sage, for failing to answer one of his questions.[24] Sudhanu, son of Subāhu, another king of Hastināpura, fell in love with a *kinnarī* in a distant country and came back with her to the capital, where he had long been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom.[25] Vidyādhara's son Utpala dwelt at Hastināpura in the vicinity of the hermitage of Valkalāyana.[26] Hastināpura was once ruled by a pious and righteous

13. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 355.
14. Tr. by Pargiter, p. 307.
15. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 212.
16. *Mbh.* I, 109, 4337, 4360; 109, 7355.
17. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 435.
18. Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 702.
19. Nirnayasāgara Ed., p. 128.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
21. *Mbh.*, I, 74, 3000; *Ibid.*, 94, 3786.
22. Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 274.
23. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 361.
24. R. L. Mitter, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 160.
25. *Mahāvastu*, II, 94-95.
26. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, 64th Pallava, p. 62.

king named Uttarapañcāla Mahādhana. The *Lalitavistara* (Ch. III) refers to Hastināpura as having been ruled by a king, descended from the Pāṇḍava race, valiant and the most beautiful and glorious among conquerors. The blind king Dhritarāṣṭra continued to rule at the old capital of Hastināpura.[27] He remained here for 15 years. Parīkṣit, grandson of Arjuna, ruled over Hastināpura. He was highly intelligent, a valiant warrior, and a powerful bowman.

Svayaṁvara of Draupadī. Svayaṁvara of Citrāṅgada's daughter.

At the *svayaṁvara* ceremony of Draupadī, the daughter of king Drupada of the Pañcāla country, Karṇa was present with other Kṣastriya princes, such as Śalya of Madra and Duryodhana of Hastināpura. It was here that Arjuna won the hand of Draupadī by a wonderful feat of archery. A quarrel ensued over her acquisition and a duel took place between Arjuna and Karṇa with the result that the latter was defeated.[28] Duryodhana attended the *svayaṁvara* of the daughter of Citrāṅgada, king of Kaliṅga, in his capital Śrīrājapura. When the princess walked onwards passing over Duryodhana, he could not brook this insult. With the help of Bhīṣma and Droṇa and by his own prowess, he carried away the princess in a chariot by defeating the other rival kings and brought her to Hastināpura.[29]

Vaśiṣṭha's messengers reaching Hastināpura.

The messengers sent by Vaśiṣṭha to bring back Bharata, reached Hastināpura, crossed the Ganges and passed through the Pañcāla country (*Te Hāstinapure Gaṅgāṃ tīrtvā pratyaṅmukhā yayuḥ / Pañcāladeśamāsādya madhyena Kurujāṅgalaṃ //*).[30]

Sudāsa and Saṃvaraṇa. Hastināpura assailed by the Nāgas and swept away by the Ganges. Destruction and abandonment of Hastināpura. Pargiter's remark. Separate Kingdoms of Hastināpura.

Sudāsa drove out the Paurava king Saṃvaraṇa of Hastināpura, defeating him on the Jumna. Saṃvaraṇa recovered his kingdom of Hastināpura with the aid of Vaśiṣṭha probably from Somaka, grandson of Sudāsa. Tradition says that Saṃvaraṇa was driven out of Hastināpura by a Pañcāla king and he took refuge for many years near the river Sindhu (Indus). But after the recovery of his kingdom he established lordship over all Kṣatriya princes.[31] Pargiter points out that there was a long gap between Jantu and Priṣata, during which northern Pañcāla was dominated by Hastināpura.[32] According to Pargiter the Kurus reigned at Hastināpura about 830 B.C.[33] Hastināpura was assailed by the Nāgas.[34] It remained as

27. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173.
28. *Mbh.*, 1.4, 178-79.
29. *Ibid.*, Śāntiparva, Ch. IV, p. 1378....*hṛṣṭaḥ Kanyāmupādāyanagaraṃ Nāgasāhvayaṃ*.
30. *Ramayaṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 68. v. 13.
31. *Mbh.*, I.94.3725-39.
32. *AIHT.*, p. 172.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

the outpost of the Hindu kingdoms of Northern India.[35] After Hastināpura was swept away by the Ganges, Kauśāmbī was made the capital by Nicakṣu, a descendant of Janamejaya.[36] After the destruction of Hastināpura by the inundation of the Ganges, the three sons of Adhisīmakriṣṇa lived at Kauśāmbī.[37] The fourth successor of Janamejaya abandoned Hastināpura, because it was carried away by the Ganges. According to Pargiter this explanation is insufficient, because if that were the whole truth, he could have chosen some other town nearby as a new capital. Separate kingdoms of Hastināpura were ruled by three sons of Ajamīḍha.[38] Droṇa with the aid of the princes of Hastināpura conquered Priṣata's son, Drupada.[39] The victorious Pāṇḍavas re-entered Hastināpura.[40]

Various dynastics of the kings of the solar race.

Various dynasties of the kings of the solar race from Mahāsammata to Śuddodhana, father of Gautama Buddha, reigned severally in succession in nineteen Indian cities. Hatthīpura or Hastināpura was one of them.[41] Thirty six kings of the dynasty of Mahāsammata, sons and grandsons of king Brahmadatta, ruled over the most excellent Hatthīpura, the last king being Kambalavasabha.[42]

Religious History.

Gaḍmukteśvara or Gaṇamukteśvara on the Ganges in the district of Meerut was a quarter of the ancient Hastināpura where Gaṇeśa worshipped Mahādeva.[43] Many monks came from different quarters to Hatthinīpura or Hastināpura to observe the *Uposatha* (sabbath) ceremony. People used to serve them with various articles of food and other things. There lived a courtesan in that city, who was stingy and who had no faith in the Buddha. She did not approve of the meritorious deeds done by the people and used to say that it was no good making gifts to the shaven-headed monks. In consequence of this she had to suffer in hell.[44]

Hastināpura visited by the Buddha and Mahāvīra and many other Tīrthaṅkaras.

Hastināpura was visited by the Buddha. Here an excellent brahmin approached him and praised him.[45] It was an important city according to the Jains. It

35. *Mbh.*, I, 43, 1786, 1807 ; 50, 2007, 2175 ; XVIII, 5, 178 ff.; Cf. *Harivaṃśa*, 101, 102, 105, 106 ; *vide* also Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 285.

36. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 72 ; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Pt. IV, Ch. 21—*Adhisīmakṛṣṇaputro Nicakṣur bhavitā nṛpaḥ Gaṅgayāprahṛte tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye tyaktvā Nicakṣur nagaraṃ Kauśāmbyāṃ sa nivatsyati* ; Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p.5 ; *Rāmayāṇa*, II, 68.13 ; *Mbh.*, I, 128.

37. *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. 50.

38. Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 100.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

40. *Mbh.*, XIV, 70, 2053.

41. *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, the Commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 130; *Imāni ekūnavīsati nagarāni, tesu yathārahaṃ visuṃ visuṃ rajjam kamato anusāsisum.*

42. *Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 18-19.

43. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dict.*, 60, 74.

44. *Petavatthu Commentary*, pp. 201 ff.

45. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 72.

was often visited by Mahāvīra, the well-known founder of Jainism.[46] Śānti, Kunthu and Aranātha who were the sixteenth, seventeenth and eigthteenth Tīrthaṅkaras, were born at Hastināpura. The fifth, sixth and seventh Tīrthaṅkaras were not only initiated here but also they attained supreme knowledge (*Kevalajñāna*). Lord Riṣabha broke his first religious fast at the house of Prince Śreyāṃsa, the grandson of Bāhubali. The great sage Viṣṇukumāra by virtue of severe penances controlled Namuci. Such great personages as Sanatkumāra, Mahāpadma, Subhūma and Paraśurāma were born here. The *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (XVIII) mentions a few ancient kings who had reached perfection as hermits. Sanatkumāra and Mahābala (Mahabbala) of Hastināpura were among them.[47] Here stand the magnificent temples of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, Aranātha and Ambikādevī. Four *caityas* (shrines) were built here, which were watered by the Jumna.

Being contemptuously treated for the sake of his birth as a *caṇḍāla* Sambhūta took the sinful resolution at Hastināpura to become a universal monarch in a later birth.[48] When Sunandā, wife of Sanatkumāra, the powerful king of Hastināpura, paid homage to Sambhūta, a Jain monk, and touched his feet with the curls of her soft hair, he was possessed by the desire to become a universal monarch in reward for his penances.[49] King Sanatkumāra, the son of King Aśvasena of Hastināpura, a universal monarch of great power, placed his son on the throne and then practised austerities.[50] Sanatkumāra became the fourth *cakravarttī*. Mahāpadma was the ninth *cakravarttī*. After having given up his large kingdom, his army and war-chariots and his exquisite pleasures, Mahāpadma practised austerities. Hastināpura was his residence.[51]

Indraprastha the later capital founded by the Pāṇḍavas. Indraprastha—One of the five prasthas. Different names of Indraprastha.

Indraprastha (Pali—Indapatta, Indapattha, Indapattana, Indaraṭṭha)[52] was the later capital of the Kuru kingdom founded by the Pāṇḍavas.[53] This excellent city contained the knife and the needle-case which were the relics of the Buddha.[54] The Kurus, who occupied this city, had the Pañcālas to the east and the Matsyas to the south. Indraprastha, which was a small territory under the Pāṇḍavas, was one of the five *prasthas*, the other *prasthas*

46. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, II, 9 ; *Thānaṅga*, 9, 691.
47. J. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, vv. 37 and 51.
48. *Uttarādh*. Lec. XIII.1.
49. *Ibid.*, Lec. XIII. 28 ; *Jaina sūtras*, S.B.E., II. p. 60 f.n.
50. *Ibid.*, Lec. XVIII. 37—
Saṇaṃkumāro maṇussindo Cakkavaṭṭī mahaḍḍhio /
Puttaṃ rajje ṭhaveūṇaṃ so vi rāyā tavaṃ care //
51. *Ibid.* Lec. XVIII., 41—
Caittā bhārahaṃ vāsaṃ caittā balavāhanaṃ /
Caittā uttame bhoe mahāpaume tavaṃ care //
52. *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. XXVIII, v. 11.
53. *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, CCVII, 7568-94—*nagaraṃ sthāpayāmāsuḥ*. *Ibid.*, Ādip., 207, v. 29. This city was surrounded by walls and moats (*parikhābhiralaṅkritaṃ*)—*Mbh.*, Ādip., 30.
54. *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. XXVIII, v. 11 ; Law, *The Lineage of the Buddhas*, S.B.B. p. 88.

being Sonepat, Panipat, Pilpat and Baghpat.[55] It was also called Khāṇḍavaprastha and formed part of Khāṇḍavavana. It was also called Śakraprastha[56] and Brihasthala in the *Mahābhārata*. Indabara was undoubtedly the ancient Indraprastha. The Prakrit form of the name is Indapaṭṭha.[57] Indapaṭṭha and Indabāḍha are the Prakrit names of Indraprastha.[58] The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X.58.1 ; X. 73.33 ; XI.30.48 ; XI. 31.25) mentions Indrasthāna which may be identified with Indraprastha.[59] Indrasthāna is mentioned in the Kamauli plate of Govindacandra (v.s. I, 184).

Extent of Indraprastha.

Indrapastha was in the realm of Kuru extending over 300 *yojanas*[60] (one yojana = 12 miles ; according to some 7 miles). It was seven *yojanas* in extent according to the *Jātaka* No. 537 (*sattayojanike Indapattanagare*). It extended up to four *yojanas* to the south of Jumna.[61]

Location.

Hastināpura, the ancient capital of the Kurus, became insignificant in course of time, and the new city of Indraprastha was erected by the Pāṇḍavas.[62] The settlement of the Pāṇḍus was Indraprastha near Delhi. About 60 miles to the north of this settlement the Kurus lived.[63] Indraprastha is the modern village of Indrapat (Indarpat) in the Delhi district. It was built on the banks of the Jumna about 2 miles south of modern Delhi. According to the epic story the blind king Dhritarāṣṭra assigned to his nephews, the five Pāṇḍus, a district on the Jumna where they founded Indraprastha.[64]

Direct route from Indraprastha to Vārāṇasī.

Starting from Indapatta (Indraprastha) one could go straight to Benares. A brahmin belonging to Indapatta was sent by a king to Vidhura, who was the chaplain of the king of Benares, for the solution of a knotty question. Instead of going straight to Benares, he first visited all the places where the sages dwelt, and then gradually reached Benares.[65]

55. *Bhāgavatap.*, X. 58.1 ; XI.30. 48 ; 31.25 ; *Mbh.*, Ādip., 217.27 ; P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 758.
56. *Mbh.*, XVI, 7.10.
57. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 128-29.
58. *Ibid.*, notes, p. 367.
59. *E. I.*, XXVI, Pt. II, p. 71 ; *I. A.*, XV. p. 8, f.n. 46.
60. *Jātaka* No. 537.
61. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, p. 758.
62. Law, *Histrical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 86.
63. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 262.
64. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173.
65. *Jāt.*, V. p. 59.

Political history.

Yādava Vajra was crowned king of Indraprastha by Arjuna after Kṛṣṇa passed away. Arjuna established Hārdikya's son at the town of Mārttikāvata, and bringing the bulk of the people with depressed mind (*dīnamanasaḥ*) to Indraprastha, he of great prowess placed Vajra, the surviving Vriṣṇi, prince, as king over them.[66] (*Hārdikyatanayaṃ Pārtho nagaraṃ Mārttikāvataṃ...Sarvvāṃstān Śakraprasthe nyaveśayat*; *Indraprasthe dadau rājyaṃ Vajrāya paravīrahā*; *Vajro rājā kritaśca ha*).

The Kulindas were conquered by Sahadeva in his southward march from Indraprastha.[67] When Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne of Indraprastha, the ancient city of the Pāṇḍu princess in the Kuru plain, before the Rājasūya sacrifice, Bhīma defeated the Videhans in the course of his *digvijaya*.[68]

King Koravya exercised a righteous rule in the city of Indapatta. He had a son by his chief queen. When the son came of age, he was sent by his father to Takkasilā to be educated in arts by a famous teacher.[69]

Dhanañjaya Korabba was the ruler of the city of Indapatta in the kingdom of the Kurus. Vidhurapaṇḍita, who learnt all the arts at Takkasilā, became his family priest and minister who gave him instructions concerning temporal and spiritual matters.[70]

King Dhanañjaya disregarded his old soldiers and showed favour to newcomers. He went to fight in a disturbed frontier province, but neither his old warriors nor the newcomers would fight, each thinking that the other party would see to the matter. The result was that the king was defeated. On his return to Indapatta he reflected that his defeat was due to the favour shown to the newcomers.[71]

Indapatta, Uttarapañcāla, and Kekaka, were the three cities which the king desired to conquer. Not being able to conquer them, disease came upon him. He himself admitted that he fell ill for his covetousness.[72]

Religious History.

According to the *Padmapurāṇa* (200, 17-18) Indra performed many religious sacrifices in the city of Indraprastha, worshipped Ramāpati several times, and

---

66. *Mbh.*, XVI.7. 185-253 ; XVII, 1.8.0 ; *Brahmapu.*, 210-12 ; *Viṣṇupu.*, V.37-38 ; Wilson *Viṣṇupu.* Tr. Bk. V. Chs. XXXVII-XXXVIII ; *Padmapu.*, VI, 270.56 ff. ; *Agnipurāṇa*, 15 ; Pargiter, *AIHT*. 284 ; *Mbh.*, XVI. 7.10—*Vajroyaṃ bhavatāṃ rājā śakraprasthe bhaviṣyati* ; *Mbh.*, XVI 7. 69-70 ; *Ibid.*, Vanguvāsi Ed., 7.72 ; *Ibid.*, XVII, 1.8.

67. *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva, XXI. 16.17.

68. *Ibid.*, Sabhāparva, Ch. 30. 13-14—*Vaidehakañśa rājānaṃ Janakaṃ jagatīpatiṃ vijigye...*

69. *Jātaka* No. 537 ; *Jāt.* V., p. 457.

70. *Vidhurapaṇḍito nāma amacco tassa atthadhammānusāsako ahosi*—*Jātaka*, VI, p. 255 ; Cf. Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413, Vol. III.

71. *Jātaka*. III, p. 401.

72. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 218-14.

offered many treasures to the Brahmins in the presence of Nārāyaṇa. Since then the place became famous as Indraprastha. A king named Dhanañjaya of the excellent city of Indapatta, who was endowed with the ten good modes of conduct, was approached by the Brahmins from the kingdom of Kaliṅga, who desired to have his good elephant, a lucky property owned by him, as their kingdom was greatly troubled by drought and famine. According to him it was not fit for a person to refuse a beggar. He took the elephant by the trunk, besprinkled it with water from the water-jar, and gave it to the Brahmins. While he was making this gift the ministers spoke thus–" Why are you giving the best elephant to the beggars? If a lucky property be given in this way, what will your kingdom do?" He answered that he would give even the whole of his kingdom and his own body. Omniscience was dear to him, therefore he gave the elephant, the presence of which in a country would bring copious rain and remove drought and famine.[73]

73. *Cariyāpiṭaka*, Ed. by B. C. Law, Ch. I., No. 3, p. 17.

PROFESSIONS AND PERSONS IN THE NIYA SOCIETY

By

R. C. Agrawala

It was about 50 years ago that Sir A. Stein excavated about 800 documents[1] at the ancient sites of *Niya*, *Endere* and *Loulan*—all situated in the heart of Chinese Turkestan. These records, in *Prākrit* language and *Kharoṣṭhī* script, are a storehouse of information concerning the social, religious, economic and administrative conditions of the *Niya* region in the first three centuries of the Christian Era. The following is a short account of the persons and professions which could be gathered from these documents.

I. *Buddhist Monks and Buddhist Church*

(*i*) The documents, under review, refer to different variants of the Sanskrit word *śramaṇa*[2] or Pāli *samaṇa* such as *śramana*, *śramaṃna*, *śraṃmanu*, *śraṃmaṃna*, *śramaṃ* (no. 252, *Language*, p. 4), *ṣamana* (no. 516)—etc.[3] All these words need to be compared with Kucarī *ṣamāne* and Khotanese *ṣamana* (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 358).

(*ii*) *Ṣamanera*[4] of no. 288 appears to be identical with *śamaṇeriye* as occurring in the Andhau inscription of the Śaka chiefs Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. The latter has been interpreted to mean " a person who has already been admitted to priesthood of the Buddhist Church after going through the ceremony called the *Pabbajjā*. He becomes a fully privileged monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*."[5]

(*iiii*) *Brāhmaṇas* :—The phrase *śramaṃna—bramaṃna* (no. 554) seems to refer to the existence of the Buddhist friars (*śramaṇas*) side by side with the

---

ABBREVIATIONS USED

(1)	No. or *K.I.*	=	*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Vols., I, II, II. (Text only). Oxford, 1920.
(2)	*Trans*	=	Burrow, T., *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan, London*, 1940.
(3)	*Language*	=	Burrow. T., *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937.

The other abbreviations are in the usual style.

1. 764 documents have been published in three volumes of *K.I.*, while 18 more in *BSOS*, Vol. IX, pp. 111 ff. These records have also been called as *Niya Kharoṣṭhī Documents*.

2. In the beginning *śramaṇa* denoted any monk and it was in a later period that it came to be used in the sense of a Buddhist or Jaina friar. For details, consult Durga Bhāgawat, *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence*, Poona, pp. 12-13, f.n. 3.

3. Also consult *KI*, Vol. III, p. 373 *Index Verborum*; *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, p. 610; *ibid*, XI, p. 780 ; *ibid.*, Vol. xiii, p. 160 ; *ibid*, vol. ix, p. 88; *JRAS*, 1935, p. 671; *Language*, p. 14; my paper on the ' Life of Buddhist Monks in Chinese Turkestan, *Sarūpa Bhāratī*, pp. 173-81.

4. It means ' a novice '. Cf. *BSOS*, vol. XI, p. 780 ; *ibid*, Vol. XIII, p. 130.

5. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* ,Vol. I, p. 169, f.n. 1.

Brahmanic priests (*bramaṃna* = Skt. *Brāhmaṇa*). Document no. 514 also refers to the latter class such as *bramṃana* or *bramaṃna*. Dr. H. W. Bailey (*BSOS*, XI, 787-9) has discussed the wide use of the Skt. word *brāhmaṇa* in different languages of Central Asia and China. On the other hand, Dr. T. Burrow (*Language*, p. 109) does not think that Brāhmaṇas existed in the Niya society. He argues that the word *bramaṃna* in no. 554 is taken "as an indefinite phrase out of Buddhist literary usage rather than indicating the presence of the Brahmins in Central Asia." But it should not be lost sight of that the existing documents bear testimony to the knowledge of the Indra[6]-cult (no. 511) and the practice of sacrificing the animals for god Bhadra (i.e., Śiva ; Cf. *bhatro devatasa* in no. 157). That could not have been possible without the existence of the followers of the Brahmanic faith at some stage in Central Asia. Undoubtedly the required data at our disposal is quite meagre and hence further discoveries are badly awaited to throw more light on the problem.

(*iv*) The existing *Kharoṣṭhī* documents also refer to some variants of the Skt. word *bhikṣu* such as *bhighu* (no. 322), *bhuchu* (no. 703), *bhichu*[7] (no. 322, 511, 419, 477)—all used in the sense of a Buddhist monk.

(*v*) Besides this, we also find variants of another Skt. word *sthavira* (= Pālī *thera*) such as *ṭera* (no. 419), *sthaira* (no. 511 ; Cf. *Language*, p. 93) etc. Not only that, people fully knew different gradations of the monks in the ascending order i.e. *navaka* (novice), *madhya* and *sthaira*.[8] The novices were of course not leading a disciplined life (no. 489) though they were living inside the monasteries in the company of the *Jeṭhas* (no. 477), the *Vṛidhas* (no. 489) and the *Viharavalas*.

(*vi*) *Vihara* (nos. 358, 489) and *Saṅgarmna* (no. 345) have been derived from Skt. *Vihāra*[9] and *Saṅghārāma*[10] respectively. Besides these words, for a Buddhist monastery, we have technical terms for the Buddhist Church[11] as well *i.e. bhichu-saṃgha* (nos. 489, 419, 506), *bhichu saṃga* (no. 489), *bhighu saṃgha* (no. 322), *bhuchu saṃga* (no. 703) etc. The Buddhist church (or the Holy Organisation of the *Śramaṇas*) enjoyed a place of great honour and status. There was no state interference in religious affairs. It managed its affairs according to the circumstances and the need of the hour. The appointment of the *viharavalas* (= Skt. *vihārapālas*) too rested with the *saṅgha*.

(*vii*) The *Kharoṣṭhī* documents, under study, prove that the *śramaṇas* in the Niya society were indulging in all sorts of worldly pursuits and secular activities.

6. i.e. *Indraṃ vivṛidhi abhivarṣatu* here. Cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOS*, vol. XI, pp. 792-3.
7. Document no. 511 even refers to the community of the monks i.e., *bhichu gaṇa* (or *gane*).
8. i.e. *sthaira ca madhya ca navaka ca bhichu* in no. 511.
9. Cf. Agnean *Wayāra* in the same sense (*BSOS*, vol. XI, p. 792 ; vol. XIII, p. 106 ; Vol. IX, p. 640 f.n. 1).
10. For identical words in the Central Asian languages, consult *BSOS*, Vol. IX, p. 582 ; vol. XI, p. 790.
11. i.e. Skt. *saṅgha*.

Still they called themselves *śramaṇas*. *It appears that the institution of monk-hood was perhaps engrafted on a people who had absolutely no earlier traditions of asceticism and chastity.* That appears to be the reason why they failed to adhere to the ideal standard of a Buddhist *bhikṣu* or *śramaṇa*.

As regards the monks residing inside the monasteries, it was decided by the Church that they could not attend the *posatha* ceremony in the garb of a householder (*grihasta*[13] *codina*,[14] no. 489; *Trans*, p. 95). Householders were thus distinguished from those who had renounced worldly attachments.

(*viii*) The *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada* from Central Asia refers to the word *parvaitasa* which has been identified with *pravrajitasya* (*Language*, p. 6) i.e. "One who has left his home and leads the life of a friar." Fahien, the famous Chinese pilgrim visiting Central Asia in the 5th century A.D., had noted the existence of the *parajarwikas* (= followers of the Buddha) as distinct from the *ṣamanas*.[15] It is not possible to account for such a distinction between the two types of people.

II. *Nobles and Aristocrats*

(*i*) The word *ajate*[16] or (*ajhade*) has been interpreted to mean 'noble or free people'. In that connection comparison has been sought with Avestan *āzāt*, N. Persian *āzād*[17] (*BSOS*, VII, p. 509; *Language*, p. 73), Sogdian *Z'tch* (= free born)...etc. It is regretted that our documents do not furnish sufficient material regarding the exact identification of the above phrase (*Cf. BSOS*, VII, p. 509).

(*ii*) In several documents (nos. 507, 576, 586...etc.), the *ajhate* people are referred to as witnesses i.e., *tatra sachi ajhade jaṃna* (no. 593). We also learn from no. 415 that a *Khulaputra* was also a witness in one case. The word *khula-putra* seems to have been identical with Skt. *kula-putra*, i.e., of a good family. In fact a witness, in India, was expected to be of a noble rank and high lineage. (*Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II, 88-9, as cited in *BSOS*, VII. p. 509).

(*iii*) We learn from our documents that the well-to-do people were not on good terms with the Governor of a certain province (named *Caḍota*). These *samṛidhae*[18] *jaṃna* (no. 272) were of course employed in state service.[19] The

12. For details consult my papers in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta Vol. XIV, pp. 13-54 and the *Sarūpa Bhāratī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-81.

13. = Skt. *gṛihastha* = householder.

14. Cf. my paper 'A Study of Textiles and Garments,' *Bhārtīya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. XIV, pp. 75-94, f.n. 11; Compare *BSOS*, vol. VIII, p. 905; *Ac. Or.*, Vol. XII, p. 62 f.n. 6.

15. S. Beal, *Travels of Fahien and Sung Yun*, p. 5.

16. Cf. *ajhate-jaṃna* in nos. 272, 588; *ajhade jaṃna* in nos. 120, 593, 507; *ajhateyasa* or *ajhateyana* of no. 242. Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 73) thinks that *ajhatu* (no. 152) has nothing to do with *ajhate*.

Ajhati (nos. 216, 570) and *asade* (no. 436) too have been associated with *ajhade*; *Language*, p. 78; *BSOS*, Vol. VII, p. 509; *Trans*, p. 98.

17. The Persian word *āzātān* denotes 'grandees' as forming a part of the nobility (M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, p. 206).

king had to interfere and prevented them from oppressing the people (*ede samidhae jamna varidae hotu ma imci dramnagena jamnasya upedemti*). The king even asked the Governor to suppress them with a stern hand.

(*iv*) *Guśura* :—Dr. H. W. Bailey, (*BSOS*, XIII, p. 121) tried to identify the word *guśura* (nos. 186, 216, 295, 320, 401, 415, 328, 696) with Khotanese *bisīviraa* (= of high birth = *kula-putra*[20]; Cf. also *BSOS*, XII, p. 331 ; *JRAS* 1939, p. 116). According to Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 87), *guśura* is among the highest titles like *kāla* and *ogu*. With the latter it seems to have rather close connections because a number of people appear with both the titles. Their functions were judicial (nos. 216, 295, etc.) and there were *guśuras* in Khotan as well as in Shan-Shan (no. 413).

It is interesting to note that *gauśura* occurs as an official title in a Sanskrit document from Kuci (Lüders, *Zur Geschichte u Geographie Ostturkestans*, *SPAW*, 1922, p. 255 as cited in *Language*, p. 88 ; *Bailey*,[21] "Recent work in Tokharian," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1947, pp. 149-50). Dr. Bailey (*BSOS*, XIII, p. 393) further adds that *gauśurya* and *gauśara* of the *Derge Text*, the Narthang *Hgehuśusuya* and *Gohuśara* inevitably recall the Kucean —Sanskrit *gauśura* and Niya *guśura*.

(*v*) *Kala* :—Like the *guśuras*, the *kalas*[22] of the Niya *Kharoṣṭhī* documents commanded great influence and control in the contemporary society. They possessed rich estates and landed property (no. 334 etc.). Dr. Burrow is of the opinion (*Language*, p. 83) that "*rājya* was the land directly owned by the king, while *kilmes* were fiefs or estates granted to the nobility of the realm. The titles of the people having *kilme* under them seem to have been the most exalted as *Ogu*, *Caṅkura*, *Kala* etc. None without a high title is addressed as having a *kilme* so that it is not just a case of ordinary landed proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching Feudalism."[23]

F. W. Thomas (*Festschrift...H. Jacobi*, p. 51) suggested that "*kala* is identical with *kara* as occurring in the phrase *Kujula-Kara-Kadaphises* which appears on the coins of Kadhphises. He also maintains the view that *guśura* stands for

18. Cf. *vridhi jamna* of no. 100.

19. i.e. *atra cojhbo Somjakena athovae ajhate jamna sutha abomata karemdi* in no. 272. For *athovae*, consult *BSOS*, vol. VII, p. 509, where Burrow interprets the phrase as "employed in the service of the State."

20. *Kulaputra* has been associated with *erjhuṇa*—which occurs in a *Kharoṣṭhī* document from N. W. India ; consult *BSOS*, Vol. XI, p. 585 and *Language*, p. 68.

21. Also Bailey, *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, p. 917 f.n. 1 and XIII (*i*) p. 121 ; F. H. Thomas *Ac. Or.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66, 71, vol. XII, pp. 58-9 and *Festschrift...H. Jacobi*, p. 51; *Language*, pp. 82, 87-8 for details about the derivation of *guśura*.

22. Nos. 25, 28, 108, 109, ...etc. Also there is another variant as *Kāla* (nos. 112, 147, ...etc.) Cf. *KI*, vol. III, s.v. *kala* and *kāla*, pp. 337-8.

23. Cf. my paper in *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 97 ff. for details.

the epithet *Kujula*. Sir John Marshall[24] (*JRAS*, 1947, p. 28) is also in favour of identifying *kara* with *kala* (Cf. *Language*, p. 82 ; *BSOS*, VII, p. 782) of the Niya documents.

From nos. 622 and 684 we learn that *kala Pumñabala* has also been called a *Maharayaputra*.[25] Hence the phrase *Kara* may denote ' a prince ' as suggested by Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 82) and Marshall (*JRAS*, 1947, p. 28).

F. W. Thomas (*Journal of the Greater India Society*, XI, p. 66) is of the opinion that " *suvetha*, *spetha*, *kala*, *guśura* may have been brought from the Indian N.W. Frontier while *caṃkura* and *ogu* clearly belong to Chinese Turkestan."

(*vi*) *Ogu* :—According to Dr. Burrow(*Language*, pp. 80-1), *Ogu* " appears to have been about the highest title that existed, since in the lists of people with their titles, *Ogu* comes first (nos. 732, 582......etc.). The title *guśura* seems to have been connected in some way with *Ogu*.

F. W. Thomas suggests that Tibetan *Zan-lon* (= uncle councillor) be associated with *Ogu*[26] ; *Cf. agus* of Gesar legend (*JRAS*, 1934, pp. 98-99 and *Ac. Or.*, XII, pp. 58-9 for the views of F. W. Thomas).

(*vii*) *Kitsaitsa* :—Persons having *Kitsaitsa* as their title were of a very high rank for they were often mentioned along with the *Kalas* (nos. 581, 606, 40......; *Language*, p. 82)...etc. They were perhaps required to discharge the judicial duties (nos. 495, 581, 606, 719, 730). Dr. Bailey (*BSOS*, VIII, p. 917, f.n. 1 of p. 916) thinks that *kitsayitsa* is a title, possibly meaning ' elder '. He even compares the word with *Kucean ktsaitsaññe* (= age) and this view has already been propounded by Burrow (*Language*, p. 82 ; *Cf. JRAS*, 1935, p. 673) and Thomas (*Journal of Greater India Society*, XI, p. 66).

III. *Royal Personage*

The documents under survey bear testimony to the fact that sovereignty rested with the king. He was usually addressed as *Maharaya* (= Skt. *Mahārāja*) —the Great Monarch. In State injunctions and letters of command, the king's name was associated with charming titles[26a] and epithets such as *Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahaṃtasa jayaṃtasa dharmiasa* (*sacadhamasti*)-*dasa pracachadevada nuava maharaya devaputrasa* (no. 655) ; *Cf.* also nos. 656, 579, 581-2, etc.

24. Thus he interprets *kala* in the sense of a ' prince.'
25. i.e. ' Son of a great king ' = *Mahārāja putra*.
26. Cf the title *Ugu* in the phrase *Ugu Küšän*; Sten Konow, *Ac. Or.*, Vol. XII, p. 21.
26*a*. Cf. also my paper ' State Communications and Despatches in Niya documents ', read in *Section I of the Indian History Congress held at Ahmedabad* in Dec. 1954 ; also *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-7.
27. i.e. " from the district of the *Vurcugas* " (*Trans*, p. 122).

In document nos. 431-2, the word *devī* has been interpreted in the sense of a 'queen' (*Trans*, p. 88), though it may denote any lady. Besides this, there is absolutely no reference to the females of the royal lineage.

As regards the king's son, documents nos. 622 and 634 refer to the epithet *maharaya-putra* = Skt. *Mahārāja-putra*. In these particular documents such a person (named Puṃñabala) is addressed as *Kala* as well which also indicates royal lineage of the person.

IV. *Vurcugas*

Document no. 554 presents the *Vurcugas* quite distinct from the State-officials, monks, *Brāhmaṇas* etc., (*traṃgadhare goṭha -bhaṭara-jaṃna śramaṃna bramaṃna vurcuga sa ca ede jaaṃna*). That shows that the *Vurcugas* formed quite a different class of people" (*cf. Language*, p. 122). A certain person, named Luṭhu (no. 277), also bears this title. Besides this, reference has also been made to the district of the *Vurcugas* (nos. 277, 304; Cf. *vurcugana pradejade*).[27] The phrase *Vurcuga* of course remains obscure as yet.

V. *Householders*

(*i*) Reference to the *grihastas*[28] (= householders) as distinct from the *śramaṇas* living inside the monasteries has already been made above.

(*ii*) We have also seen above that the *goṭhabhaṭara*[29] *jaṃna* (i.e. Skt. *goṣṭha—bhaṭṭāraka—janāḥ*) formed quite a distinct class in the society. The above phrase appears to refer to those people who had farms, slaves and serfs in their possession. The phrases *bhaṭara* (or *bhaṭare*) and *dajha* (= slave = *Skt. dāsa*) in the documents are to be noted with interest here.

VI. *State-officials*

The state-officials (*traṃgadhare*[30], no. 554) too formed a separate class in the Niya society for they have been enumerated separately in the company of other people. The persons employed in king's service (*raji jaṃna*) were duly written down (no. 224), thus perhaps referring to the system of maintaining proper record of the State-employees (cf. no. 396).

VII. *Soldiers and Warriors*

(*a*) The existence of the armed people has been attested by the phrase *seniya*[31] *jaṃna* in no. 69. We also learn that the soldiers of *Saca*[32] carried away 2 cows belonging to a certain person. Not only that, they even ate up one of these two

28. For Central Asian equivalents of the phrase, consult Bailey's paper in *BSOS*, vol. VIII, p. 905; Cf. Hansen, *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 579-80.
29. Also *goṭhabhaṭare jaṃna* in no. 147 and *goṭhadare* in nos. 362, 371, 475, 506, 528, 753 etc.
30. *Draṃgadhare* in no. 107. The word *draṃga* here denotes "an office" (*Language*, pp. 98-9); Cf. *BSOS*, vol. VII, pp. 509-10.
31. Also *seniye* in nos. 1, 307, 478.
32. A locality name.

cows (no. 1). In fact there was a great danger from the armed dacoits and looters. The highways of Chinese Turkestan were overawed by the armed bandits etc.

(*b*) The phrase *Yoda—bariyana* (no. 713) has tentatively been read as *Yodha-bhāryāṇāṃ* (*Ac. Or.*, XII, p. 50 f.n. 3) and interpreted as "soldier-wives" (*ibid*, p. 51).

VIII. *Scribe*

The profession of a scribe (*divira*[33]) was hereditary[34] in Chinese Turkestan (nos. 421-2, 581, 591-2, 654-5, 715 etc.). The long career of a scribe named *Raṃṣoṅka* can be traced from the 6th regnal year of king Amgoka to the 22nd regnal year of king Mayiri. Thus the particular scribe discharged his duties for a period of about 54 to 62 years. It is very much interesting to find the *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks) working as scribes (no. 331) and even as state-scribes (*raja-divira*, no. 575).

IX. *Persons of the Lower Strata*[35]

(1) *Slaves* :—*Dasa* (nos. 345, 391), *dajha* (no. 569), *dhajha* (no. 22) or *dajha-jaṃa* have all been derived from Skt. *dāsa* (male slave). Similarly *dasi* (no. 621) and *dajhi* (nos. 39, 45) owe their derivation to Skt. *dāsī* (= female slave). Reference to the masters (*bhaṭara* or *bhaṭare* = Skt. *bhaṭṭāraka*) of these slaves has already been made above.

(2) *Attendants and Servants* :—(*a*) The word *preṣi* has been identified with Skt. *preṣya* (= 'servant'; Cf. *KI*, III, p. 358; *Language*, p. 108). It has also been used as an epithet of some *daśavita* in no. 204 (*i.e. daśvita preṣi Sugita*).

(*b*) The documents also present various phrases for an attendant i.e., *vaṭayaga* (nos. 419, 576, 579, 581, 637), *vaṭhayaga* (nos. 189, 594, 622), *upastaga* (no. 387,) *vaṭhaya jaṃna* (no. 189), *vaṭaga*[36] (no. 357...etc). They seem to have been derived from Skt. *uphastāyaka* (= Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*; Cf *Trans*, p. 79, no. 387; *Language*, p. 118). Besides this they also need comparison with Khotanese *vaṭhāyaa* (*Language*, p. 118), later Khotanese *vakṣāyaa* (*BSOS*, XI, p. 791), Khot. *vakṣāyai*, *vakṣāyā*, *vaṭhāyai* (*ibid*, pp. 542-3, 537), Saka *vaṭāyaa* (*ibid*, p. 515) and Tocharian *upasthāyak* (*ibid*).

(3) *Porters* : There is a solitary reference to the porters (*pṛiṭhabharige* = Skt. *priṣṭhabhārakāḥ*[37]) in no. 376 and nothing can be said about their social status.

---

33. Cf. *divirapati* (in an ancient Indian epigraph) for a 'chief of the scribes'—P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 987; Cf. *Language*, p. 98. Consult *BSOS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 127-8 for parallel words in different languages.

34. Cf. *KI*, pp. 323 ff.

35. Cf. my paper in *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff., for the condition of the Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan.

36. It should have been *vaṭayaga*; Cf. *Language*, p. 118.

37. i.e. employed to carry load on their backs.

(4) *Labourers and wage-earners* :—We learn from some records (nos. 19, 54, 403) that sometimes persons used to be employed on work-charge basis. They were duly given their wages (*parikraya*). A certain lady, according to one document, was entitled to receive her wages, food and clothing for staying in the herds (no. 194 :—*yatha purva rajadhamena codaga*[38] *pacevara—parikraya*[39] *dadavo*). It was quite undesirable to have exacted any work without the payments of due remuneration or without any other justification (*Cf.* no. 403).

As regards the slaves, they were simply given food and clothing (*bhata*[40]—*codaga* in no. 506). The question of the payment of wages did not arise in their case.[41]

We learn from document no. 25 that 3 *milimas* of corn were paid as wages and 1 *milima* 10 *khis* of corn as food for a guard (*cf.* no. 476).

(5) *Serfs* :—The serfs (*kilmeciyana*) were not leading a very happy life. In fact they were tied to the soil and remained under the watchful eye of their masters (*Cf. Language*, p. 105 ; *J. of the Greater India Society*, XI, p. 61 ; *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 673-5 ; my paper in *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 109-110).

(6) *Fugitives* :—Banishment or exile has been a regular feature in the Niya society (*JRAS*, 1934, pp. 101-2) and our documents too tell the same tale. They refer to the fugitives in very clear words such as *palayanaga* (nos. 296, 355, 735), *palayaṃnaga* (nos. 136, 149, 217, 296, 403, 622, 675)...etc. These words seem to have been derived from Skt. *palāyanaka* (*Cf. Ac. Or.*, XII, p. 52 f.n. 1 ; *KI*, III, p. 355, *Index Verborum* for the variants). In fact the disturbed political conditions of Chinese Turkestan were responsible for the growing number of these fugitives. The kings were, of course very sympathetic towards these people and even helped them in cultivation.[42]

X. *Artisans and Craftsmen*

The phrase *kaṃmakare jaṃna*[43] (no. 120) reminds us of a similar word as *karmakara* which has been used by Pāṇini (III, 2.22) in the sense of " an unskilled labourer engaged in hard manual work " (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 236). On the other hand, our documents furnish very interesting information about the

38. Consult my paper on Textiles and Garments..., *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XIV, pp. 75-94.

39. i.e. food, provision. Consult *Language*, p. 102 and *BSOS*, vol. VII, pp. 783-4 for details.

40. It is the same as *bhakta* of the Sanskrit literature. Pāṇini mentions workmen receiving their daily food as *bhākta* or *bhāktika* (IV. 4.68—as cited by V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, 1953, Lucknow, p. 237).

41. In the times of Patañjali too, the *dāsas* and the *karmakaras* were provided with food and clothing (*Bhāṣya*, II. 86 *yadetad dāsa-karmakaram...bhaktaṃ ca celaṁ ca lapsyāmahe*). Consult V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 237.

42. Cf. My paper in *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 109.

existence of various arts and crafts in the contemporary society. Following were the artisans and craftsmen as recorded by the existing documents :—

(1) *Śilpiga* (no. 217), interpreted by Burrow as an "artisan" (*Language*, p. 125). It has been derived from Skt. *Śilpa* a word which actually occurs in no. 355.

(2) Carpenter i.e. *dacchaṃna* or *tacchaṃna* = Skt. *takṣaṇa* (nos. 174, 266, 764 ; *Cf. Language*, pp. 5, 29 ; *KI, III*, p. 347).

(3) *Potter* i.e. *kulala* of no. 621. *Pāṇini* (IV. 3.118) refers to *kulāla* in the same sense (*India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 230). The same has been changed to *kolāliya*[44] in the Jaina literature.

(4) Bow-maker i.e. *dhaṃnukara* (no. 361) = Skt. *dhanuṣkāra*.

(5) Arrow-maker i.e. *kaḍa-kara* (no. 715) = Skt. *Kāṇḍakāra*.

(6) Goldsmith i.e. *suvarnakara* (no. 578) = Skt. *suvarṇakāra*.

(7) Blacksmith. The phrase *ayaga karyeṣu* (no. 107) has been interpreted by Burrow as equivalent of "iron-works" (*Trans.*, p. 20, f.n. of no. 107). In this connection it is necessary to compare the word *ayaga* with Skt. *ayas* (iron).

(8) Reference to the use of the roads and the bridges (i.e. *piro*[45]) in the documents is sufficient to suggest the existence of trained masons and artisans in the Niya society. The construction of these roads etc., could not have been possible without the help of the engineers. It is regretted that our documents throw no light on this problem.

(9) *Ujhmayuga*[46] (nos. 283, 373) is quite an obscure phrase. Dr. Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 74, no. 373) suggested that it should mean "honest." At another place (*Trans.*, p. 51, no. 283) he interpreted it in the sense of "skilled". He (*BSOS*, VII, p. 780) suggests an Iranian origin of the word and states :—"Dr. H. W. Bailey points out the *uzmāyisn* (= experience), *uzmūtak* (= skilled), also 'proved', 'tried'. There is also N. Pers. *āzmāyam*, āzmūdan (= to try, test). The latter meaning is perhaps to be chosen for *uzhmayuga* i.e. 'tried, trustworthy men'; Or, of course, it may mean "skilled in some kind of work or profession."

It is also to be noted that Dr. Burrow (*BSOS*, VII, p. 784) tries to identify *asmāti* (Cf. *asmāti jaṃnana* no. 639) with "N. Pers. *āzmūdah* ? ; *Cf. ujhmayuga*" but without any definiteness. In fact the phrase *asmāti* is itself an obscure one.

43. Dr. Burrow (*BSOS*, Vol. VII, p. 785) feels that their duty was to go to the bridge and find out the water etc.

44. J. C. Jaina, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canon*, p. 180.

45. Consult *Language*, pp. 105-6, and *BSOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 784-5 for the interpretation of this word *piro*.

46. i.e. *ujhmayuga manuṣya* in no. 283 and *ujhmayu(ga) jaṃna* in no. 373.

X. *Central Asian People*

The documents refer to various persons belonging to different places[47] and regions of Central Asia. They may be pointed out as follows :—

1. *Kroraymna* ; Cf. *Kroraiṃci mamnuśana* in no. 370.

2. *Saca* ; Cf. *saciṃciye* in no. 160.

3. *Calmadana* ; Cf. *calmataṃci* in no. 305.

4. *Caḍota* ; Cf. *caḍotiye* (nos. 293, 326, 639) ; *caḍoti parvatiye* (no. 32 ; Cf. *Language*, p. 25).

5. Khotan (nos. 30, 484, 505, 556). There is also reference to the Khotanese fugitives.

6. *Ekhara* (nos. 72, 80, 87, 104, 147, 157, 176, 181, 266) –an epithet or title interpreted by F. W. Thomas as referring to the people living on the north bank of the Tarim river (*Ac. Or.*, XIII, p. 44-5). Prof. Thomas also tried to identify *ekhara* with *Oikhardes* of the Greek language.

The first 4 places (as cited above) in fact lay in the Shan-Shan Kingdom itself, while Khotan was the capital place of the neighbouring state lying to the east of Shan-Shan.

7. *Suliga*, as occurring in the phrase *suliga vagiti vadhagasya* (no. 661), is very important indeed. Dr. F. W. Thomas (cited in *Language*, p. 181 and *KI*, III, p. 378, column 1) feels that the phrase refers to the inhabitants of Kāshgar. In this connection it is really interesting to compare *Suliga* with Tibetan *Su-lig* and Skt. *Śulika.*[48] On the other hand Dr. Burrow (*Language*, p. 131) tries to identify the word with " a Sogdian."[49]

Dr. H. W. Bailey (*BSOS*, VI, p. 949) favours Burrow's views and cites some parallel words used in the sense of ' a Sogdian ' i.e. Pahl. *sūlīk*, Chinese *su-li*, etc. In this connection it is also essential to refer to the views of Drs. Sten Konow (*Ac. Or.*, X, p. 74) and J. C. Tavadia (*Indo-Iranian Studies*, I, 1950, Śāntiniketana, pp. 78-9).

8. *Vachu* (Cf. *vachu jaṃna* in no. 630 ; *nave vachu* in no. 630 ; simply *vachu* in no. 338). It has been stated that there was some demand for the ' new *vachu* people '(no. 338) while document no. 630 refers to the award of ' new *vachus* '

---

47. The question of their identification will be taken up in a separate article on " The Geographical data in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan."

48. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *śulikas* are said to have inhabited the region near the Oxus river (K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 1943 p. 132) ; Cf. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 48-9; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of An. India*, Calcutta, 5th Ed., p. 602, f.n. 5 etc.

49. Cf. also Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, vol. I, p. vi as cited in *Language*, p. 181.

by the *Uryagas*. All these phrases are quite obscure. It will be a mere conjecture if we attempt to associate *vachu*, with the people residing in the region of the Oxus (Skt. *Vaṅkṣu* river.)

9. Some more obscure words need a passing reference here i.e. *Lautgaiṃci jaṃna* (no. 272 ; *Language*, p. 114), *Asmāti jaṃna* (no. 639), *Tsakeṃci* (no. 876) etc.

XII. *Persons of Foreign Countries*

(1) Tibetans ; Cf. *bhotici manuśa* in no. 84. There is also reference to *Bhotinagara* (no. 89).

(2) A solitary document (no. 324) refers to the word *Yonu* which seems to have been derived from Skt. *yavana* (= " Ionian "). It is rather difficult to say whether the Greeks were actually living in the Shan-Shan kingdom in those days.

(3) The Chinese merchants (*cinasthanadevaniye*,[50] no. 35) visited the markets of Shan-Shan kingdom very often. The existing documents refer to the use of Chinese garments and textile objects such as *cina-cimara* (no. 149), *cina-veḍa* (no. 353) etc. The discovery of the *Sino-Kharoṣṭhī* coins from the heart of Chinese Turkestan lends supports to the existence of both the Indians and the Chinese people in the region. A certain person, named Aryasa, belonged to the Chinese lineage (*Cf. cina* Aryasa, no. 255) and made some sale of the land here. Besides this, some of the proper names begin with the name of their country such as :—
Cinika, *Cinasena*, *Cinapriya*,[51] *Cinaphara*,[52] *Cinayaśa* etc.

Prof. Thomas (*Ac. Or.*, XIII, p. 79) tries to interpret the word *ṣeraka* (nos. 43-2) as " Chinese " but he too is not sure about this suggestion.

We also learn from document no. 680 that the Chinese people (*i.e. Cinana*) were actually living at various places of Chinese Turkestan (i.e. at Opiṃta, at Calmadana...etc.).

This is in a nutshell a short account of various persons and profession as depicted in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan.

---

50. Cf. *Cenastān* of the Pahlavi texts (*BSOS*, Vol. VI, p. 948) and *Centan* of the Chinese works (*Journal of Sino Indian Studies*, Vol. II, 1946-7, p. 138). *Cinasthana* of no. 35 = Skt *Cīnasthāna*.

51. The two words, *Cinasena* and *Cinapriya*, have been so formed under the Sino-Indian influence on the territory.

52. *Phara* is an Iranian equivalent of Indian *Yaśa* (*Trans*, p. 82, note of no. 399).

MELPADI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA

(One Plate)

BY

K. D. SWAMINATHAN, OOTACAMUND.

Mēlpāḍi[1] is a village in the Chittur taluk of the present Andhra State and is situated on the western bank of the river Pālār, six miles to the north of Tiruvallam in the Gudiyattam taluk. The antiquity of the place is established by the Karhad Plates of Kṛishṇa III, who it is stated encamped there in A.C. 959.[2] There are two temples at Mēlpāḍi, *i.e.*, the bigger one of Sōmanāthēśvara, which is still in use and the other of Chōḷēśvara, which is deserted.

The subjoined inscription[3] is engraved on the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Sōmanāthēśvara temple. During the time of the Chōḷa monarch Rājarāja I (A.C. 985-1014) this temple seems to have been called Chōḷēndrasiṁhēśvara temple, as is evidenced by some inscriptions.[4] Even in the present record it is referred to as Chōḷēndrasiṁha temple.

The language of the inscription is Tamil and the alphabet Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha as in 'Śubhamastu' (lines 1 and 17), 'bda' in 'Śakābda' (line 1), 'ṁ' in 'Varushaṁ' (line 2) 'ma' in 'Śrīmanmahā' (line 4), and in 'mahā' (line 6) 'dē' in 'dēva' (line 6), 'rma' in 'tarmam' (line 8) and 'gra' in 'agrakarattile' (line 11). Among the few orthographical peculiarities the following may be noted: (*i*) the use of dental *t* for labial *p* in the expression 'śattamiyum' (line 3) (*ii*) the omission of the anusvāra *ṁ* in 'Śūlayōgamu peṟṟa' (line 4) and 'yāriḍa' (line 7) and (*iii*) the use of '*ka*' for '*ha*' in 'Kavipitāmaka' (line 7).

The record is dated Śaka 1441, in the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara KṚISHṆA-DĒVAMAHĀRĀYA. The astronomical details of date given in it *i.e.*, Bahudānya Chittirai 21, Saturday, Saptamī, regularly correspond to April 17, 1518 A.C. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a crown, a gold handle for a fly-whisk and a silver plate[5] for the goddess Kuntaḷasundarī, by Peddu-Rāja, son of

1. Mēlpāḍi had another name 'Rājāśrayapuram' (*S.I.I.*, Vol. III Nos. 15 to 19). The name may probably be derived from one of the surnames of Rājarāja I. Rajāsraya was a surname of Rājarāja I. See Large Leyden grant, line 78. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 241).
2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 281.
3. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1921, No. 105.
4. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 15.
5. An inscription from Kōyiltēvarāyanpēṭṭai (*A.R.S.I.E.*, 260 of 1928) refers to a gift of a silver plate and a flywhisk by a certain Śembiyan Vēśalippāḍi-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷān during the reign of a Parakēsarivarman.

Allasāni Chokkarāja of Nandāpuri, with the money realised from the sale of three-fourths of the village Taṇaippūṇḍi, which was a gift from Kṛishṇarāya.

The importance of the present record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Peddu-Rāja or Allasāni Peddana, the poet laureate in the Court of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya (A.C. 1509-1529) of Vijayanagara. Peddu-Rāja figures in three other records of the same king. Two inscriptions from Kōkaṭam in the Kamalapuram taluk of Cuddapah District dated Śaka 1440, Bahudānya, Kārttika śu 12, (A.C. 1518, October 15, Friday)[6] and Śaka 1440, Bahudānya, Vaiśākha śu 15 (A.C. 1518, April 25, Sunday)[7] respectively and another record from Aṉṉiyūr,[8] in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot District dated Śaka 1442, Pramāthin, Kārttika śu 15 (A.C. 1519, November 6, Sunday), mention him as the son of Allasāni Chokkarāja of the Vāsishṭa *gōtra*, Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and Rik *śākhā*. In the present inscription and in the Aṉṉiyur record, Peddana bears the *biruda* "*Āndhrakavipitāmaha.*"

It is well known that the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya was the Augustan age of Telugu literature. The emperor himself was known as "*Uru-kavi-vaibhava-nivaha-nidhāna*"[9] (the cause for the highly prosperous condition of great poets). Tradition affirms that in his court flourished the '*Ashṭa Dig-gajas*' or the Eight renowned poets. The eight poet laureates were Allasāni Peddana, Nandi Timmanna, Ayyala Rāju, Rāmabhadrayya, Dhūrjaṭi, Mādayagāri Mallanna, Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa,[10] Pingali Śūranna and Rāmarājabhūshaṇa. It is interesting to find an inscription from Tippalūru, in the Kamalapuram taluk of Cuddapah district, dated in the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, which states that Tippalūru, an *agrahāra* village, was given by the king to the eight court poets (*Ashṭadiggaja Kavīśvaras*).[11] Unfortunately the record does not enumerate the names of the *Ashṭadiggajas*. Whether all the *Ashṭadiggajas*, mentioned in the list flourished in his court or not, there is no reason to doubt that the most celebrated of the period (i.e. Allasāni Peddana), received the king's personal encouragement.

Allasāni Peddana was the most important and easily the best among the *Ashṭadiggajas*. We know very little about the early career and activities of Peddana. Dr. Mahalingam is of the opinion that Peddana was born in the village of Dōraṇāla in the Dupad taluk of Bellary District.[12] According to the veteran Telugu savant Viresalingam Pantulu, Peddana was a Nandavariki Brahmin of the Niyōgi sect and son of Chokkāmātya.[13] This is confirmed by the statement in the

6. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1926, No. 715.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 716.
8. *A.R.E.*, 1915, No. 623.
9. *Ibid.*, 1914-15, C.P. Nos. 7 and 8, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 185.
10. Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao is of the view that Tenāli Rāmkṛishṇa did not live in the court of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. He assigns Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa to A.C. 1630. See Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXI, p. 102 ff.
11. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1937-38, No. 282.
12. *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, p. 370.
13. The Telugu Poets, Part II, (Ananda steam press edition), p. 189. He further adds that the original home of the family was Dornla in Dupad taluk. Obviously Dr. Mahalingam has mistaken this statement.

record under study that Peddu Rāju was the son of Allasāni Chokkarāja of Nandāpuri. Nandavari is obviously a corruption of Nandāpuri; Hence Peddana seems to have been born in Nandāpuri. His history up to the period of his becoming the poet laureate of Krishṇadēvarāya, is still shrouded in mystery.

Peddana is credited with the authorship of the following works: (1) *Manucharitra* and (2) *Harikathāsāra*. But *Manucharitra* is the only extant work and the *Harikathāsāra* has not come down to us. The *Manucharitra* is an episode from the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa describing the birth of Svārōchisha Manu. The following is in brief the theme of the work. A pious Brahmin of Aruṇaspada visits the Himalayas, reputed to be the abode of super men. In his wanderings, he attracts the attention of a Gandharva *belle*, who falls in love with him, but the Brahmin does not reciprocate her feelings. A *gandharva*, who had lost his heart to this beauty takes advantage of the situation, assumes the form of the Brahmin and lives with her. Out of this union is born Svārōchisha, who becomes a king and has many an adventure in each of which he rescues a maiden, whom he weds. The son of Svārōchisha is the second Manu, ruler of Jambūdvīpa.[14] It shall be no exaggeration if we say that from religion to romance, from imitation to imagination, from narration to description and from ethics to æsthetics, Telugu literature assumed a new shape with Peddana and that he was the literary dictator of his day and his work *Manucharitra* was the literary model of the succeeding ages.[15]

The Vaishṇava creed of Peddana is attested to by his *Manucharitra* where he claims the Vaishṇava teacher Śaṭhagōpayati as his *guru*.[16] An inscription from Ahōbalam,[17] in the Sirvel taluk of the Kurnool district, dated Śaka 1477, Ānanda, Mārgaśira ba di 5 (A.C. 1554 December 14, Friday) records a gift of a *daśāvandamānya* to Avubaḷarāja, son of Kōneṭirājayya for building a tank, Kōnasamudram, at Alamūru, by the Vaishṇava teacher Parāṅkuśavaṁśa Śaṭhagōpajīyaṁgāru, the trustees of the Ahōbalam temple and the agent of Aḷiya Rāmappayyadēvamahāraja. Another inscription from Dayyamdinne in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary district dated Śaka 1482, Kālayukta, Āśvija śu 14 (= A.C. 1558 September 26, Monday) records the gift of toll incomes from the *agrahāra* Dayyamdinne *alias* Krishṇapura, to the hill fortress of Ādavēni in favour of the *Maṭha* of Parāṅkuśa Śrī Śaṭhagōpajīyaṁgāru, a Śrī Vaishṇava teacher, who bore the titles *Sarvatantrasvatantra* and *Ubhayavedāntāchārya*.[18] The Śaṭhagōpajīyaṁgāru figuring in these two records seems to be identical with Śaṭhagōpayathi, the teacher of Peddana figuring in the *Manucharitra*.

---

14. Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao—*A History of Telugu Literature*, p 79. For an article on Peddana's Manucharitra, see *Bharati*, November 1954, p. 488. ff.
15. For an article on "Peddana as the originator of the Telugu Prabhanda" see *Proc. A.I.O.C.*, X, Summaries p. 179.
16. *Manucharitra* Edited by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Intro., p. 8, verse 6.
17. *A.R.E.*, 1915, No. 65.
18. *Ibid*, No. 534.

The authorship of the *Āmuktamalyādā* again is attributed to Peddana by some scholars.[19] But the differences in style and methodology between the *Manucharitra* and the Āmuktamālyadā set out clearly that the authors of the two works are different.[20]

Allasāni Peddana was held in so high an esteem by Krishṇadēvarāya, that besides granting him villages, the king, in appreciation of his greatness, did not hesitate to confer on him the responsible post of a Governor of a district. An inscription in Telugu from the Vishṇu temple at Aṇṇiyūr, in the South Arcot district states that in Śaka 1442 (A.C. 1520-21), while Krishṇadēvarāya was ruling the kingdom, Peddi Rāja (Allasāni Peddana) son of Allasāni Chokkarāja, completed the construction of the Varadarāja temple at Annūr in the Karavātchi śīma, which had been granted to him by the emperor as *nāyaṅkara*.[21] From two other inscriptions, we learn that the village Kōkaṭam in the Kamalapuram taluk of the Cuddapah district had been granted as *Sarvamānya* by the king to Peddana.[22] The records are dated Śaka 1440, Bahudānya, Kārttika śu 12, (A.C. 1518, October 15, Friday) and Śaka 1440, Bahudānya, Vaiśākha śu 15 (A.C. 1518, April 25, Sunday). From the latter grant we know that Peddana was present at Bezwada. Krishṇarāya's expedition to the East coast took place in A.C. 1516-1517 and on his return march he visited Ahōbalam[23] and Simhāchalam and camped at Bezwada[24] and made munificent gifts to the temples in the southern country.[25] As the Kōkaṭam grant is dated A.C. 1518 it is possible that Peddana accompanied the king on his eastern campaign, came to Bezwada and issued the grant. Krishṇadēvarāya, however, seems to have been accompanied by Peddana and others in his hunting excursions.[26] Peddana gives a very true picture of the royal hunt, with the accuracy of an eye-witness. From the four known epigraphs available for Peddana, he may be assigned to A.C. 1518-1520.[27]

Reverting to the present inscription, the name of the goddess Kuntalasundari,[28] is interesting. Except this record other epigraphs of the area and period do not

19. Wilson : *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 281.
20. For a detailed discussion on the authorship of Āmuktamālyadā see T. Rajagopala Rao—*A Historical sketch of Telugu Literature* p. 82 ff : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 1920 ff., Also *Vijayanagara sexcentenary commemoration volume* p. 207 ff.
21. *A.R.E.*, 1915, No. 628.
22. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1926, No. 715 and 716. No. 715 registers the grant of the village Kōkāṭam, by the son of Allasāni Chokkarājaṁgāru, for various requirements of the temple of Chennakēsava, such as offerings, lamps, music etc.
No. 716 registers the grant by Peddayyaṁgaru of several pieces of land at Kōkaṭam to the Sakalanāthaliṅga. The grant was made on the banks of the Krishṇā at Bezwada on the occasion of a Lunar Eclipse.
23. *A.R.E.*, 1915, No. 64, and *S. I-I*, Vol. IV, No. 694.
24. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Hn 13.
25. *A.R.E.*, 125 of 1904 and 381 of 1908.
26. *Manucharitramu*, Introduction, p. XI., see also *Rāyavāchakamu*, cited in S. K. Ayyangar—Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 113.
27. Viresalingam Pantulu assigns definitely the date of A.C. 1585. It is however, not known, on what basis he has fixed the date.
28. The word Kuntalasundari in Sanskrit means a lady who is beautiful by the locks of hair. (कुन्तलै: सुन्दरी).

mention the goddess by this name. Whether it had any connection with the Kuntaḷa country cannot be said definitely. It must obviously be a surname of Pārvati. We do not come across this name in any inscription in the Kuntaḷa country.

Two geographical names occur in the record, i.e. Nandāpuri and Tanaippūṇḍi. Nandāpuri may be identified with Nandavaram[29] in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. Tanaippūṇḍi may be identified with Tenebanda in the Chittur taluk of the Chittur District.

TEXT[30]

1 Śubham = astu || Svasti Śri Śakābta(bda)[ṁ*] 1441 mēl [ch*] = chellā-
2 ninṟa bahutā(dā)nya–varusham śittirai–mātam 21 śani-
3 kkiḷamaiyuṁ pūśanakshatramuṁ Śatta(pta)miyuṁ Śūlayō-
4 gamu[ṁ*] peṟṟa inta(da) puṇṇi[ya*]kālattilē Śrīman = Mahā-
5 maṇḍalēśura(śvara) rāśā(jā)ti(di)rāśa(ja)rāya(ja) paramēśura(śvara) Śrī-
6 Vīrapratāpa Mahārāyaṉṉ = āṉa[31] Ki(Kṛi)shṇadēva mahā irā-
7 yariḍa[m*] Kaviyiśurar Antara(Āndhra)kavipitāmakar(har) Na(Na)-
ndāpuri Aḷḷaśānich-
8 Chokkarāśa(jā)vin kumāraṉ Pettu(Peddu)rāśā(ja)viṉ ta(dha)rmaṁ [|*]
Mēr-
9 pāḍi-uḍaiyār Śōḷēndraśiṅgamuḍaiya–nāyiṉāṟku [pa]-
10 ṇṇich = chāttina tiruvāpa(bha)raṇam Śrī Kishṇarāyar[32] na-
11 makku kuḍutta[33] Tanaippūṇḍi–agrākarattilē[34] ṉ(n)āṁ
12 Śo[ḷa][35] śiṅgamuḍaiya-nāyiṉārku kuḍutta paṅgu mūṉ-
13 ṟum vikkiraiyam paṇṇi paṇṇuvitta tiruvāpa(bha)ra-
14 ṇam kiṟīṭam oṉṟum veṇśāy (ṇcāy) maram poṟ = k
15 āmpu(mbu)ṁ Kuntaḷachchindarikkum[36] veḷḷi aripā(vā)ṇamuṁ
16 paṇṇuvittatu āchanti(di)rārka stā(sthā)pi(yi)yāka samarpitta ti-
17 ruvāpa(bha)raṇañ = camarpittōm [|*] Śubham = astu [||*]

---

29. But the Nandavārikas are generally connected with Nandavaram or Nandavara agrahāra of the Banganapalle taluk in the Kurnool District. This information is from personal enquiries at the village by Shri H. K. Narasimhaswamy, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, when he visited the village years ago. I am thankful to Shri Narasimhaswamy for drawing my attention to this.

30. From Inked impressions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

31. Read ' Rāyarāna '.

32. Read ' Kṛishṇarāyar '.

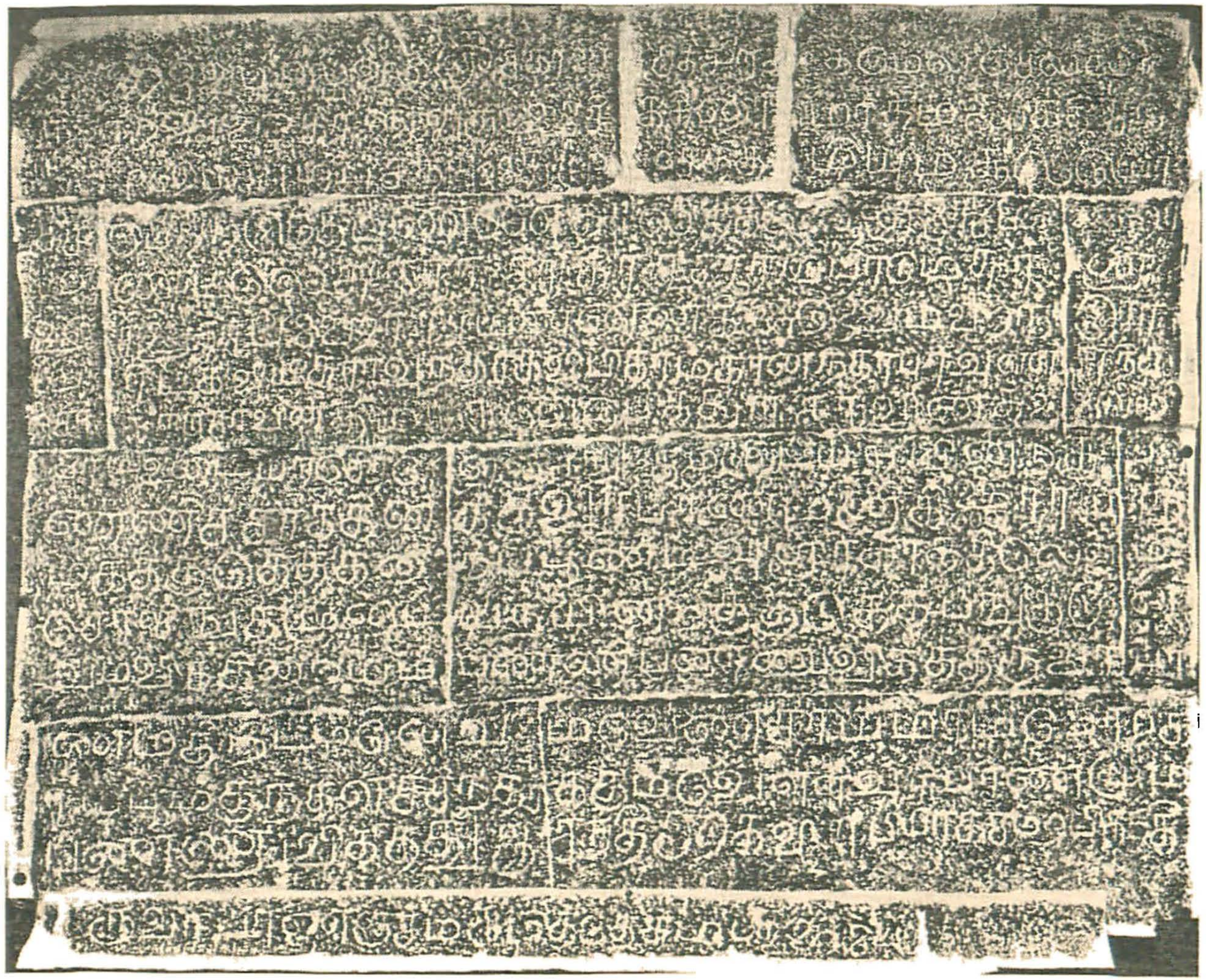
33. Read ' Namakkuk = kuḍutta '.

34. Read ' agrahārattilē '.

35. There is a letter engraved here looking like *la* and joined to the next letter *śi*. This is apprently due to the inadvertance of the engraver, who committed a mistake and later corrected it.

36. Read ' Kuntaḷasundarikkum '.

MELPADI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA



Abstract of Contents

Be it well. Hail prosperity! In the year Śaka 1441, Bahudānya, 21st day of Chittirai, in the auspicious time of Saturday, Pushya, saptamī—Āndhra kavipitāmaha Peddu Rāja, son of Allaśāni Chokkarāja of Nandāpuri and the poet laureate of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rājādhirājaparamēśvaṛa Śrī vīrapratāpa Kṛishṇadēvamahārāya, made a gift of ornaments such as a crown, a gold handle for flywhisk for Śōḷēndraśingamuḍaiyar, the deity at Mērpāḍi, and a silver plate for (the goddess) Kuntaḷasundari, after selling three-fourths of the village Tanaippūṇḍi, granted to him by the king (Kṛishṇarāya), to remain as long as the sun and moon last. Be it well!

THE PROBLEM OF THE ASPIRATE IN ROOTS LIKE बुध्, दुह् ETC.*

G. C. JHALA

1. Authoritative opinion[1] in comparative philology and the historical study of Sanskrit grammar is entirely at one in holding that sk. roots like बुध्, दुह्, दह्, गुह्, बध्, गाह् etc.[2], which have a final aspirate, are Indo-European in origin and that in the IE stage they possessed an aspirate both at the beginning and the end of the syllable. Thus, originally, दह् was धध्, बध् was भध्, द्रुह् was ध्रुध् etc. In course of time, owing probably to the comparative difficulty experienced in articulating two aspirates successively, the initial aspirate was dropped, leaving the aspiration only at the end. That is, IE root *bheudh* > Sk. बुध्, IE *dhugh* > Sk. दुह्, IE *Dhrugh* > Sk. द्रुह्, IE *bhendh* > Sk. बन्ध् etc. This view is supported by the evidence of the phonetic changes occurring in certain flections of these Sk. roots in which the initial aspirate is found, but only when the final aspirate is lost; e.g., बुध्-बोधति but भोत्स्यति (3 Sing. Fut. Active), बुभुत्सति (3 Sing. Desid. Pres. Active); दुह्-दुहन्ति but धोक्षि (2 Sing. Pres. Active), अधोक् (2 Sing. Impf. Act.); ग्रह्-गृह्णाति but जिघृक्षति (3 Sing. Desid. Pres. Active) etc. From the evidence of such forms, it is concluded that the initial aspiration becomes possible whenever the final aspiration is lost; and the law is laid down that in all such roots the initial aspirate *returns* when the final aspirate is lost.[3] A similar situation obtains in Greek, too, though independently of Sanskrit.[4]

This law, known as Grassmann's law, has found universal acceptance. Whitney, for instance, after having framed § 155 in conformity with this law, found it necessary to add the explanatory note 'a' as follows: 'That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate."

2. N. B. Divatia, however, appears to have been, perhaps, the only scholar to make bold to differ from this universally accepted view. In his "*Gujarati*

---

* This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference, 15th session, held at Bombay in 1950.

1. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I. 105, especially, b β; Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 141a and 155; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 32; Edgerton, *Sanskrit Historical Phonology* § 13, in Supplement to JAOS, Vol. 66 No. 1 (1946): Batākrishna Ghosh, *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit* (1937), p. 10 f, etc.

2. All these cases are exactly covered by Pāṇini, VIII.2.37: एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः।

3. Exceptions are also met with: दक्षि instead of धक्षि (√दह्), दुदुक्षन् (√दुह्) etc. *cf.* Wackernagel, I 106; Macdonell, VG. 32-b.

4. Edgerton, SHP. § 13.

Language and Literature," Vol. I, he enters upon the treatment of the phonetic mutations of the aspirate in the Gujarati language and lays down the following rule : " The ह् situated in any part of a word either as part of a conjunct or a pure simple non-conjunct, or an aspirating element in a class-aspirate, (*a*) generally moves towards the beginning of the word,......"[5]. In support of this thesis of his, he states : " A minute indication of the germ-stage of this phonetic principle can be seen even in the earlier stages, i.e., in Sanskrit, in forms like अघोक्, घोक्षि from दुह्, बुभुत्सा (from बुध्), where the ह् inherent in the घ of दुघ् (दोघ्) and in the ध of बुध् moves to the beginning and gets completely fused together with द् into ध् and with ब् into भ्. Similar is the case in जिघृक्षा (from ग्रह्)."[6] He, then, takes into consideration the prevalent authoritative view and asserts that flectional " forms like अभौत्सीत्, अभान्त्सीत् can be better explained by the principle of the shifting of the ह् inherent in ध् etc. to the beginning and getting merged by the process of संकर with the initial ब् etc. into भ् etc."[7] He sums up his view as follows : " I would suggest the theory as under : that in the parent Aryan there were...... (*b*) roots like बुध्, बन्ध् etc. which, as I say, alter the initial consonant into a corresponding aspirate simply in obedience to the law of moving the aspiration from the end to the beginning under certain circumstances, and had therefore no such aspirated first consonant in the root stage."[8]

3. Divatia was conscious of the 'heresy' he was giving expression to. I must confess that I am even more so when I say that, standing as it does in opposition to the weighty prevailing opinion, it yet is a plausible hypothesis meriting investigation. The aim of this paper is limited: it seeks to investigate the positional character of a final aspirate and determine the conditions which affect its position and the nature of this affectation. This aspect of the final aspirate has certainly been dealt with by scholars, but all investigation so far has been within the four corners of comparative philology whose results in this particular case admit of a different—and, not less legitimate—explanation of the phonetic mutations in the flections of the roots in question.

4. The question, then, is whether in flections like धोक्षि, धुग्ध्वे, धुक्, भोत्स्यति, etc. of the roots दुह्, बुध् etc. the initial aspirate is a result of the *restoration* of an original IE aspirate of these roots as the prevalent opinion holds or a result of the *regression*—backward shift—of the final aspirate towards the beginning.

5. Let us begin by investigating forms like दुग्ध, दोग्धुम् from दुह्; दग्ध, दग्ध्वा from दह्; बुद्ध, बुद्धि, बोद्धव्य from बुध् etc. In these forms the original sonant aspirate (which appears as simplified aspirate in दुह्, दह् etc.) of the final is combined with the त् of the endings of the Past Passive Participle (त), gerund त्वा, the primary

5. *Gujarati Language and Literature*, Vol. I p. 204.
6. op. cit., p. 204.
7. op. cit., p. 205n.
8. op. cit., p. 206 n. 18 contd.

suffixes ति, तव्य etc. into a euphonic fusion and the result is : दुह् + त = दुघ् + त = दुग् + ह् + त = दुग् + त + ह् = दुग्ध.[9] So also बुध् + ह् + त = बुद् + त + ह् = बुद्ध. Similar are the forms लीढ, रूढ, क्रुद्ध, युद्ध etc. In all these cases it is clear that the final aspiration is not lost—it is utilized in accordance with the law of euphony in aspirating the त with which it is combined. Consequently, the initial aspirate does not *return*, as the Restoration theory would explain,[10] or the final aspirate does not regress, as the Regression theory would put it.

(*a*) One point, however, deserves special attention in this connection. In these euphonic combinations, the fusion of त् + ह् does not stop at the expected थ (i.e., aspirate + surd is not equal to surd aspirate); it goes 'deeper' to result in the sonant aspirate ध. The surd aspirate, therefore, is not apparently as deep in aspiration as the sonant aspirate.

6. This brings us to the cases of the combination of an aspirate, mute or simple, with the surd aspirate थ: दुह्—अदुग्धाः (2 Sing. Impf. Middle), दुग्धः (2 Dual Pres. Act), दुग्ध (2 Pl. Pres. Act.); दुह्—दुदोग्ध (2 Sing Perf. Act.). etc. In the combination of घ(ह्) + थ, here, we have, in fact, a combination of an aspirate with an aspirate. As we have noted above, (5*a*), however, थ, beirg a surd aspirate. does not possess the full aspiration pessible; hence, it offers scope for the aspiration in घ to utilize itself in deepening (' voicing ') the aspiration of the surd aspirate to that of the sonant aspirate.[11] This analy is clarifies the operation of Bartholomae's law even in cases of the combination of an aspirate and a surd aspirate. The result, therefore, is : अ + दुह् + थास् = अदुघ् + थास् = अदुग् + था + ह् + स् = अदुग्धाः ; similarly, लिह्—अलीढाः, लीढः, रुध्—अरुन्द्धाः, रुन्द्धः (2 Dual Pres. Act.); मुह्—मुमोढ—मुमोग्ध (2 Sing. Perf. Active) etc. In these cases, once again, as the final aspirate is utilized in deepening the aspiration of its conjoint surd aspirate, it is not lost according to the Restoration theory, and, therefore, the original initial aspirate does not *return*; while, according to the Regression theory, too, the final aspirate, being thus spent according to the law of euphony, does not move backwards.

7. We shall, next, consider cases of the combination of a final aspirate with a sonant aspirate : दुह्—धुग्ध्वे (2 Plu. Pres. Mid.), अधुग्ध्वम् (2 Plu. Impf. Mid.), धुग्ध्वम् (2 Plu. Impv. Mid); गाह्—जघाढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. Mid.); गृह्—जघृढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. mid.), गुह्—जुघूढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. mid.) etc. In all these and similar cases, a final aspirate is combined with a sonant aspirate, which is व् in ध्वे and ध्वम्. Whitney' 155f, notices धुग्ध्वम्, धद्ध्वम् and अधद्ध्वम् (the last two forms from √धा) and, apparently, considers this combination as falling under §153, according to which "an aspirate mute is changed to a non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant." The result will, therefore, be that the final ह् (घ्) in दुह् + ध्वे will

9. Bartholomae's Law. *cf.* Whitney, 160.
10. Whitney, 160-b.
11. Interesting in this connection would be the view of Kuhn and others that the media aspirates have developed from Tenue aspirates ; *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 100, p. 118.

'lose' its aspiration and, according to the Restoration theory, the original initial aspiration will *return*. Thus : दुह् + ध्वे = दुग् + ह् + ध्वे = दुग् + ध्वे = धुग्ध्वे.[12]

(*a*) Here, it is only natural to enquire why the combination of an aspirate with ध् in ध्वे or ध्वम् in these flections must yield a different result from the combination of an aspirate with थ् despite the patent fact that in both cases the final ह् of दुह्, for instance, is identically changed to the sonant ग्. The mere rule governing such cases has already been laid down by Pāṇini in the Sūtra : एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः । (8.2.37). The postulates of this rule require to be analysed, as, indeed, so many of Pāṇini's postulates have been analysed, and the functions rationally explained. Such an analysis would reveal that the phenomena resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with ध्वे etc., *i.e.* the sonant aspirate in these endings are not isolated, but that they are exactly identical with those resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with another sonant aspirate, *viz.*, भ् which is found at the beginning of a few nominal endings; *e.g.*, दुह्—धुग्भ्याम्, धुग्भिः; बुध्—भुद्भ्याम् भुद्भ्यः etc. The plain fact that the combination of a final aspirate with a sonant aspirate yields in both cases identical phonetic results is a sufficient warrant for the existence of an underlying principle in these results.

(*b*) Let us analyse धुग्ध्वे. In दुह् + ध्वे, the final aspirate घ्(ह्) will in the first place attempt, as usual, to combine with the following ध्. However, ध् itself is a sonant aspirate and, therefore, as explained above in §§5 and 6, possesses all possible aspiration that a mute can hold. The final aspirate, therefore, is unwanted, so to say, because it cannot be utilized for aspirating the conjoint mute—which is the only purpose it can possibly serve. Under the circumstances, it is thrown backward—it regresses—towards the initial and, if possible, combines with it, i.e., utilizes itself in aspirating it. The result is : दुघ् + ध्वे = दुग् + ह् + ध्वे = दु + ह् + ग् + ध्वे = घुग्ध्वे ; similarly, बुध् + भ्याम् = बुद् + ह् + भ्याम् = बु + ह् + द् + भ्याम् = भुद्भ्याम्, etc.

(*c*) As will be easily seen, we have come to the crux of the problem here. Now, it will hardly do to hold that in this combination the final aspirate is lost. For, for one thing, the aspirate is quite well known for its mercurial character and is as likely to move backward by the force of circumstances as to move forward—and this it does—in order to aspirate its conjoint mute. Secondly, this shifting forward or backward is a feature of the aspirate in Prakrits and modern Indian languages, which can legitimately be linked up with and traced back to a similar tendency, if any, in Sanskrit. If the Restoration theory interprets the phonetic phenomena regarding the final aspirate in these roots in the light of the earlier—Indo-Iranian and Indo-European—epochs, the Regression theory interprets them in the light of the succeeding periods. Indeed, the zest with which the Pada-texts read a sonant aspirate even when the Saṁhitā-texts have a pure sonant

12. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108 ; for the derivation of the final ह् of दुह् etc. *cf. ibid.* I.214.

initial in forms like दक्षि, दक्षत्, अदुदुक्षत्, दुदुक्षन् from the roots दह् and दुह्[13] can hardly be explained by their awareness of the duty to revive an initial aspirate that once was there but had already disappeared ; it can only be due to the consciousness of a phonetic principle actually found in vogue around them.

(*d*) Let us consider a relevant piece of evidence which may prove helpful. The word गर्दभ is of uncertain origin but might be derived, it is conjectured, from the root गृध्.[14] According to the Restoration theory, it is obviously to be considered an exception in so far as the initial aspirate has not *returned*, even though the final aspirate of the root is lost, as, in fact, it ought to have done before भ which is a suffixal aspirate.[15] The word should have spelt घर्दभ, or, perhaps, गर्धभ. Now, Pāṇini's Sūtra quoted above, §7a, lays down that बश् (ब्, ग्, ड्, द्) figuring in a portion of a root, which (portion) has only one vowel in it and ends in झष् (झ्, भ्, घ्, ढ्, ध्), shall be substituted by भष् (भ्, घ् , ढ्, ध्) when that portion is followed by स्, ध्व or is final in an inflected form. Patañjali illustrates the operation of this rule with the flection गर्धप् which is the nominative sing. of the root-noun गर्दभ् formed from the denominative verb गर्दभयति.[16] In this case, on the final भ् losing its aspiration (गर्दप्—ब्), the position of the aspirate should have been normalized, according to the Restoration Theory, by the *return* of the original initial aspirate on the analogy of भुत्-द् from बुध् and the form should have spelt घर्दप्. This, however, is not the case. The obvious -and rational- -explanation is that the aspirate, not being a permitted final, does the only thing possible—it regresses to the immediately preceding syllable and tries, if possible, to survive there by aspirating it. Thus : गर्दभ् = गर्द् + ह् + प् = गर्धप् — ब्.[17]

The Regression theory similarly provides the *rationale* of the phonetic changes resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with भ्, the other sonant aspirate with which it happens to be thrown together : बुध् + भ्याम् = भुद्भ्याम् ; so also भुद्भिः ; दह्—धग्भ्याम्, धग्भ्यः etc.

(*e*) The forms दुग्धि ($\sqrt{}$दुह्) and दिग्धि ($\sqrt{}$दिह्), both 2 Sing. Impv. Active, are exceptional,[18] because, according to both the theories, दुह् + धि must result in धुग्धि

13. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 106 ; Macdonnell, VG., 32-b note 5.
14. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108 ; Macdonell, VG., 32-c note 10.
15. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108.
16. महाभाष्य on Pāṇini, 8.2.32 (दादेर्धातोर्घः।): धातोरिति नैषा दादिसमानाधिकरणा षष्ठी। दादेर्धातोरिति। का तर्हि। अवयवयोगैषा षष्ठी। धातोर्यो दादिरवयव इति। सा चावश्यमवयवयोगा षष्ठी विज्ञेयोत्तरार्था। किं प्रयोजनम्। 'एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः।' (8.2.37) इतीहापि यथा स्यात्। गर्दभयतेरप्रत्ययो गर्धबिति ॥ *Cf.* एकाचो धातोरिति सामान्याधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात्। गर्दभमाचष्टे गर्दभयति। ततः क्विप् णिलोपो गर्द्धप्। —सिद्धान्तकौमुदी on 8.2.37.
17. The latter-day गर्धव is an evolute of गर्दभ through the splitting of भ् into ब् (व्) and and the regression of the aspirate.
18. *cf.* Whitney, 155, f.

and दिह् + धि in दिग्धि. That these forms were irregular phonologically even in the eyes of Pāṇini is evident from the manner he has framed the Sūtra 8.2.37 in which he specifically mentions ध्व in order to exclude धि from its purview. It would be strange, if the rule of regression of the aspirate were to be violated before धि in these cases without some reason. A possible explanation may be that the 2 Sing. Impv. Active ending was originally थि which ultimately deepened into धि to be simplified later on into हि. In that case, दुह् + थि = दुग् + ह् + थि = दुग् + धि = दुग्धि according to §6 above; similarly दिह् + थि = दिग्धि. Now, this conjecture is in reality not as fanciful as it might appear at first sight. For, the 2 Sing. ending has a थ in not a few cases : थास् (Impf. Middle), ईथास् (Potential Middle), थ (Perfect Active),[19] and the middle endings of the Aorists. Moreover, the form दद्धि (2 Sing. Impv. Act of धा), reported by Whitney, 155f, which is later replaced by the more common and regular धेहि, would be regularly explained on this hypothesis : दध् (weak form of धा) + थि = दद् + ह् + थि = दद्धि.

(*f*) Phonologically, the root धा, indeed, behaves strangely, though, perhaps, not irrationally, in some of its inflections. As we know, it assumes the weak—reduplicated—form दध् before vowels, semi-vowels, nasals, स्, and ध्व and follows the normal rules of euphonic combination. But before endings beginning with त् or थ्, it shows unexpected forms : धा + ते (3 Sing. Pres. Mid.) = दध् + ते should have given दद्धे ; similarly, अ + दध् + थास् (2 Sing. Impf. Mid.) should have given अदद्धाः. But the actual forms are धत्ते and अधत्थाः respectively. These forms are unexpected certainly, but not irrational. The root धा, which has developed its weak, reduplicated form दध्, has here proceeded further in its evolution by the regression of the final aspirate so that दध् became धद् which latter was accepted as the base before endings beginning with त् or थ्. Thus धा + ते = दध् + ते = धद् + ते = धत्ते ; so also अधत्थाः.[20]

(*g*) धेहि, 2 Sing. Impv. Active of धा, is not an unexpected form in its double aspiration. There is hardly any ground for supposing that its normal form should have been देहि or that दधाथे (2 Dual Pres. Mid.) should have normally been ददाथे.[21] For one thing, such a supposition would violate the rule which lays down that " there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound."[22] In accordance with this rule, therefore, the forms धेहि and दधाथे are expected to be what they are phonetically. Besides, there is no euphonological ground for any positional disturbance of the aspirate in these two forms. However, it appears that this rule itself is pointless and unnecessary, because none of the examples cited by Wackernagel and Macdonell is really an example of an aspirate ' followed ' by a suffixal aspirate or the aspirate

19. Greek also has the same ending ; *cf.* B. Ghosh, LIS, p. 162.

20. Analogously, धक्तम् for दग्धम् ; *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 112.

21. B. Ghosh, LIS, p. 10.

22. Macdonell, VG ; 32-C ; cf. Wackernagel I. 108.

of the second member of a compound. In every one of these examples a vowel intervenes between the two aspirates: विभु-भिः, प्रोथ-थ (snorting), घे-ष्ठ (giving most), अहि-हन्, गर्भ-धि. These cases are governed by the rule that an *aspirate, when followed by a vowel, remains positionally unchanged.* In fact, at the bottom of the rule quoted earlier there is lurking the belief that in Sanskrit "an aspirate at the beginning of a syllable loses its aspiration if another aspirate comes at the end of the same syllable or at the beginning of the next."[23] We have, however, scores of forms in Sanskrit showing two successive aspirates: धी-धीभ्याम्, धीभि: etc.; भू-भूभिः, भूभ्यः etc.; धा-दधाथे, अदधाथाम्, धेहि, दधाथाम्, दधीथाः, दधिथ-दधाथ, दधथुः, दधाथे; दुह्-दुहाथे, अदुहाथाम्, दुहाथाम्, दुहीथाः' दुदोहिथ, दुदुहथुः, दुदुहाथे, ·दुदुहिध्वे; हा (to abandon)—जहिथः, जहिथ, जहाहि-जहिहि-जहीहि, जहिथ-जहाथ, जहथुः; हा (to go)—जिहाथे, जिहीध्वे, अजिहीथाः, अजिहाथाम्, अजिहीध्वम्, जिहाथाम्, जिहीध्वम्, जिहीथाः;, जहाथे (Perf.), जहिध्वे; भृ—बिभृथः, बिभृथ, बिभृहि, बिभ्राथे, बिभृध्वे, अबिभृथाः, अबिभ्राथाम्, अबिभृध्वम्, बिभ्राथाम्, बिभृध्वम्, बभर्थ, बभ्रथुः, बभ्राथे, बभृध्वे; मुह्—मुमोहिथ, मुमुहथुः; गुह्—गूहथः, गूहथ, जुगूहिथ, जुगुहथुः; गाह्—गाहेथे, गाहध्वे, अगाहथाः, अगाहेथाम्, अगाहध्वम्, गाहेथाम्, गाहध्वम्, गाहेथाः, जगाहाथे, जगाहिध्वे-ढ्वे-जघाढ्वे; रुह्—रोहथः रोहथ, रुरोहिथ, रुरुहथुः; बध्—बबन्धिथ, बबन्धथुः; नह्—नेहिथ, नेहथुः; हन्—हथः, हथ, हध्वम्, वृत्रहभ्याम् etc.; लभ्—लभेथे, लभध्वे, अलभथाः अलभेथाम्, अलभध्वम्, लभेथाम्, लभध्वम्, लभेथाः, लेभाथे, लेभिध्वे; etc. etc. Euphonologically, every one of these forms is correct regarding the position of the aspirate,[24] for the aspirates are separated by a vowel in every case, leaving the final aspirate of the root or root-noun positionally unchanged.[25] Also *cf.* दुह्—दोह, दोहन but धुक् -धुग्, दुग्ध; द्रुह्-द्रोह, द्रोघ but ध्रुक्-ग्, ध्रुग्भ्याम् etc: बुध्-बोध, बोधन, बोधनीय but बुद्ध, भुत्-द् भुद्भिः; etc.

8. Next, we may consider the combination of a final aspirate, mute or simple, with स्, the only spirant by which it is followed in flections. दुह्-धोक्षि, धुक्षे, धुक्ष्व, धोक्ष्यति; बुध्-भोत्स्यति; गाह्-घाक्ष्यते; बध्-अभान्त्सीत्; दह्-धक्ष्यति, दिधक्षति etc. In दुह्+सि, for instance, the aspirate is to be combined with स् and, as we have already seen, it can do so only by aspirating it. But स् is not aspirable in Sanskrit; consequently, the aspirate is thrown back to the preceding syllable and attempts, if possible, to aspirate it. Thus दुह् + सि = दोग् + ह् + सि = दो + ह् + ग् + सि = दो + ह् + क् + सि = धोक्षि; similarly बुध्-भोत्स्यति etc. Forms like जुगुक्षतः, दक्षि, दक्षुः अदुक्षत्, दुदुक्षन् met with in Vedic literature are exceptions[26] and probably represent the transitional stage before the law of the regression of the aspirate came to be firmly established. Some of these and analogous forms are found with the aspirate, too; *e.g.*, अधुक्षत्, धक्षि, अधुक्षत् etc. By the time of the Brāhmaṇas, the regression of the aspirate had become the rule. The Pada-texts, as we have already noted, religiously read these forms of दुह् and दह् with an initial aspirate even when the Saṃhitā text has an unaspirated initial.

---

23. Edgerton, SHP § 13.

24. बोधि for भोधि and जहि are exceptions. *cf.* Wackernagel, I 108, 125-bβ and 214; also Macdonell, VG., 32-c.

25. Reduplication is a special and therefore exceptional case.

26. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 106.

9. (*a*) After the regressive shift, the aspirate can remain only in a state of fusion, *i.e.*, only by aspirating the preceding syllable. Such fusion is possible here with pure sonants only. (It is not possible with surds). E.g., क्रुध्-क्रोत्स्यति (not घ्रोत्स्यति (?)); स्तम्भ्-अस्ताम्प्सीत्[27] (not अस्था° ?). In these cases the aspirate is forced to regress to the preceding syllable which is a surd (क् or त्). Fusion is not possible; hence the forms क्रोत्स्यति, अस्ताम्प्सीत्.

It is not difficult to analyse the position. We have discussed already how the surd and the sonant differ regarding the degree of their aspirability. In forms like दग्घ, the combination of an aspirate and a surd results in a sonant aspirate instead of a surd aspirate. This full aspiration may not be possible to impart to a surd after the regressive shift of the aspirate, while it is only natural in the case of a sonant.

(*b*) Fusion of the aspirate with a semi-vowel or a nasal is not possible.

This is true, generally, irrespective of the position of the aspirate, natural or shifted. Even in the natural position, the aspirate can only be combined with a semi-vowel or a nasal, *e.g.*, दह्यते, जह्रे, द्रुह्वः, बध्नाति, दुह्महे etc. But, after the shift, this mere combination is not possible, *cf.* § 9(*a*).

(*c*) If, after the regressive shift, fusion is not possible, the aspirate is dropped.

(*i*) cases where the preceding vowel is a *semi-vowel*: लिह्-लिक्षे:; रुह्-रोक्ष्यति; वह्-वक्ष्यति; युध्-योत्स्यते; विश्ववाह्-°वाड्भि: etc; तुरासाह्-°षाड्भि: etc. अनड्वाह्- अनडुद्भि:. In अनडुद्भि: etc. the ड् is not aspirated by the back-ward shift because of the व in the preceding syllable (वाह्) which is a semi-vowel and is represented by the vowel उ.

(*ii*) Cases where the preceding vowel is a *nasal*: तृह्-तृणेक्षि; उपानह्-उपानद्भि:, उपानत्-द्; नघ्-नद्भ्य: (Rv. 10·60·6).[28]

(*d*) An aspirate, not being a permitted final, undergoes the regressive shift:

दुह्-धुक्-ग्, अघोक्-ग्; बुध्-भुत्-द्; लिह्-लिट्-ड् (The aspirate in the last case, is dropped according to 9(*c*) above.

The rules about the final aspirate in Sanskrit may be stated as follows:—

(A)—A final aspirate, simple or mute, remains positionally unchanged, when followed by a vowel, a semi-vowel or a nasal.

---

27. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 106 note.

28. *cf.* Macdonell, VG., 321, n2. His conjectural derivation from नप्त्, weak stem of नपात्, is unnecessary.

(B)—When followed by a mute surd, pure or aspirate, (or a pure sonant), it fuses with it *i.e.* aspirates it fully into a sonant aspirate.

(The only quotable surds are त् and थ्).

(C)—When followed by a sonant aspirate (which itself is fully aspirated), it regresses, *i.e.*, is thrown backward on the immediately preceding syllable and remains there in a state of fusion only.

(The only quotable sonant aspirates are ध् and भ्).

(D)—A final aspirate cannot combine with spirants; therefore, before a spirant, it undergoes the regressive shift.

(The only quotable spirant is स्).

(E)—The aspirate, not being a permitted final, undergoes the regressive shift.

(F)—In the shifted position, it can fuse with pure sonants only.

(G)—If such fusion is not possible, it is dropped.

P. S.—Dr. P. E. Dumont's note, '*The Meaning of the Vedic Word* Ghoṣád', published recently in JAOS Vol. 75 (1955), p. 117f. is very pertinent to the problem discussed in this article. Briefly, he says: *Ghoṣád* occurs only in TS. 1·1·2 (*Yajñasya ghoṣád asi*) and in Tait. Br. 3·2·2. The word is spelt as *Goṣád* and not *ghoṣád* in the parallel passages in Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā and the Kāṭhaka: *Goṣád asi*. Keith, following Sāyaṇa, attempts a translation but says that "probably ghoṣád is no more than an error for goṣád" which apparently means "sitting among the cows". Dumont rejects Keith's facile explanation and logically builds up the case for his view that *ghoṣád* is in reality originally goṣádh meaning 'cattle procurer' or 'cattle provider". He adds; "I think that ghoṣád is an irregular nominative singular masculine of the stem *goṣādh* with a transfer of the aspiration to the consonant of a preceding syllable...and that this transfer of the aspiration was probably made in order to show that the stem was not *goṣád*, but *goṣádh*."

Dumont considers *Ghoṣád* irregular apparently because of his adherence to the Restoration theory which cannot explain this form. The form *ghoṣád* derived from *goṣádh* is an eminent case demonstrating the working of the Regression theory. We might well remember in such situations the well-known principle: *Aṇur api viśeṣo 'dhyavasâyakaraḥ.*

THE ROVING MENDICANTS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THEIR TEACHING

By

S. N. Gajendragadkar

Asceticism is a unique feature of Indian civilization. " Primarily it concerns the theory and practice of individual conduct." It stands for a group of qualities consisting of purity, religious discipline and withdrawal from life, not only physically but mentally also. Indian tradition always respected these ascetics and in fact idolized a few of them. History of Indian culture and civilization is replete with instances where such ascetics and mendicants who themselves having renounced worldly possessions have guided the destinies not only of individuals belonging to all the strata but even kings and gods by pointing out to them the true course of duty, here and above, as well as instructions in the ultimate good. This mode of life has been accepted as an alternative pattern since Upaniṣadic times. *Jābālopaniṣad* which lays down the life of four stages also unequivocally permits taking to the life of a mendicant even from the early stage. It therefore means that a life-long celibate who has turned his back completely to the enjoyments and pains of life, is a type which is not only accepted but recognised as an alternative to the fufilling of life's mission through four stages. It should be noted that such ascetics or mendicants having themselves accepted the life of renunciation have never undermined the theory of four stages. On the contrary they eulogise it in many places.

Amongst these ascetics, there was a group of mendicants who did not believe in a fixed abode, subsisted only on alms and were constantly on move from one place to another.[1] An attempt is being made in this paper to study the role played by such mendicants. (For the sake of this paper, the *MBH*. study is confined to the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana parvas only).

Mahābhārata refers to a large number of such roving ambassadors of asceticism who used to visit kings and other people in trouble and afford succeour to them through consolation or better still by proper advice. In Vanaparva, many eminent sages came to Yudhiṣṭhira all the way to console him, to give him cheer by pointing out *inter alia* that he and his brothers are not the only ones who have suffered in the past and a few of these sages suggested different ways of conduct. Lomaśa accompanied Pāṇḍavas in exile acting as their friend philosopher and guide. Śaunaka, a sage equally versed in Sāṅkhya and Yoga, comforts

---

1. *cf* शांतिपर्व 0. चरन् भैक्ष्यं मुनिर्मुण्डः क्षपयिष्ये कलेवरम् । १२
वृक्षमूलनिकेतो वा त्यक्तसर्वप्रियाप्रियः ॥ १३

the king and asks him to have mental peace. Mention may be made of Mārkaṇḍeya, the great sage of antiquity who spent a great deal of time with Yudhiṣṭhira. He brought home to him that man reaps the fruit of his actions alone, his action pursues him like a shadow and therefore acquisition of true knowledge alone is the way to final good. Sanatkumāra, the immortal sage of the Upaniṣadic fame figures in Vanaparvan. He is introduced to extol the warrior caste. The Kṣatriyas, surprisingly, are said to be more important than the brahmins, though of course it is added that the brahmins themselves being afraid that in the absence of the royal power irreligion might prevail, placed their power in the warrior caste. It is pleasant to note that in the interest of safety and welfare of the world sages of the fame of Sanatkumāra advised that kings are to be respected and in fact worshipped.[2] Needless to say they are strictly enjoined to do their duty. This view is shared by Mārkaṇḍeya[3] who says in clear terms that "He who worships a king, the protector and a brahmin, the ascetic is relieved instantaneously of his sins. In Śānti 68, Bṛhaspati also explains king Vasumanā how there would be instability and chaos in the world if there is no king to protect.

Let us now study the teachings of some of these mendicants referred to in the *Mahābhārata* by grouping them subject-wise.

Before we proceed to this, a reference may be made to the Jāpakas and their Japa system. It appears that they represent a class of vedic students who devote themselves to the life-long recitation of the Veda in the Saṁhitā, Pada and other forms in contrast with the accepted practice according to which in the fourth Āśrama ordinary vedic recitation comes to an end. It appears that the system is closely related to Sāṅkhya and Yoga. The Samādhi of mind is a common attribute to Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Japa. In addition to the highest attainment, attainments lower in comparison are laid down for those who suffer from dereliction of duty. It should be noted that a Jāpaka does not care to go to heaven if he can not go there with his body. The emphasis on the body is not for its own sake but because it is the medium for the Japa. He follows a निवृत्ति धर्म wherein he has discarded all worldy possessions and is not interested in- -in fact is not aware of the nature of the fruit of the Japa.[4]

---

2. वनपर्व 185. ब्रम्ह क्षत्रेण सहितं क्षत्रं च ब्रम्हणा सह ।
संयुक्तौ दहतः शत्रून् वनानीवाग्निमारुतौ ।। २५
ततो राज्ञः प्रधानत्वं शास्त्रप्रामाण्यदर्शनात् ।
उत्तरः सिध्यते पक्षो येन राजेति भाषितम् ।। ३१

3. वनपर्व 200, 108. रक्षितारं च राजानं ब्राम्हणं च तपस्विनम्
अभिगम्याभिपूज्याथ सर्वः पापाद् विमुच्चते ।।

4. जापकाख्यान—शान्तिपर्व 196-200 ; न रोचये स्वर्गवासं विना देहमहं प्रभो ।
गच्छ धर्म न मे श्रद्धा स्वर्गं गन्तुं विना ऽऽत्मना ।।१९९·२५
फलप्राप्ति न जानामि दत्तं यज्जपितं मया ।१९९·५२.

In a book of this nature which primarily deals with the problems which the human beings, whatever station of life they belong to, have to face, advice and discourses which belong to the sphere of philosophy are bound to exist.

We have an instance of Muni Kālakavṛkṣīya who, while consoling a certain king over the loss of his kingdom, points out to him the futility of earthly possessions and their transitory nature.[5] Elsewhere by a Brahmin, king Senājit is told that a loss of a son is not a matter of great grief. After all relations in this world are in the nature of accidental meetings of woods in the stream. We meet by chance and separate by chance. Pleasure and pain spring mutually from one another but the true happiness springs from self only, (Śānti 174). Reference should be made here to the Ajagara-Prahlāda Saṁvāda. Ajagara, a wandering mendicant, 'caran Brāhmaṇaḥ', appeared to king Prahlāda as one who is healthy of mind and body, disinterested, child-like but a genius and not following any particular path of duty. The king, therefore, asked him, "What is wisdom, learning and behaviour, O sage?" Ajagara then explains that the origination of beings, their growth and destruction is without any causal efforts and therefore one should neither rejoice nor grieve. One should sleep happily, wise and contented, seeing that the entire world is under destruction and death. One need not turn one's back to the good things which life has to offer nor hanker after them. Ajagara thus describes his way of life, pure and firm, never swerving from Dharma, free of greed, stupefaction and other afflictions.[6] This Ajagara philosophy is advocated by poets and philosophers alike and Bhīṣma winds up the whole discussion by saying that it will bring happiness to all. It should be noted that this philosophy explains the experience of a wise man who has seen life whole and fully with an emphasis on tranquility of mind, discipline and complete disinterestedness rather than the negative aspect of renunciation found in the last chapter of Śāntiparva.

At the court of Janaka where many ascetics professing different disciplines were engaged in discussion regarding rites after death, came Pañçaśikha, resembling the form of Kapila. He spoke to Janaka of the highest release advocated in the Sāṅkhya system and laid a stress on the disinterestedness not only in actions but in everything. As to the query of Janaka whether there is any consciousness after death since otherwise everything would end in destruction, Pañcaśikha's answer was there is neither destruction nor perpetual existence.[7]

---

5. शान्तिपर्व 104. यत्किंचिन्मन्यसेऽस्तीति सर्वं नास्तीति विद्धि तत्। १३.

6. शान्ति 179. पश्य प्रल्हाद भूतानामुत्पत्तिमनिमित्ततः।
ऱ्हासं वृध्दि विनाशं च न प्रहृष्ये न च व्यथे॥
अचलमनिधनं शिवं विशोकं शुचिमतुलं विदुषां मते प्रविष्टम्।
अनभिमतमसेवितं विमूढैर्व्रतमिदमाजगरं शुचिश्चरामि॥ २५.

7. शान्तिपर्व 210. उच्छेदनिष्ठा नेहास्ति भावनिष्ठा न विद्यते।
अयं ह्यपि समाहारः शरीरेन्द्रियचेतसाम्॥ ६.

When Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma a question—since actions, good or bad, attach themselves to men, who is the doer, the man? The latter refers him to the dialogue of Prahlāda and Śakra. Prahlāda, who because of his way of life, had become unattached, egoless and disciplined was asked by Śakra, "What is best for self-realization? Is it wisdom or fortitude?" In reply Prahlāda describ s his way of life. He mentions that since all actions are done by nature there is no separate purpose for Puruṣa and hence he is no doer except when he identifies himself with the ego. My firm conviction is, he says, that everything springs from svabhāva. It may be that this Prahlāda is the same to whom Ajagara in an earlier chapter (referred to on the preceding page) had taught his way of life. In both there is the occurrence of same fixed words and compounds, same abandoned care-free life hinted. The only difference is that here Prahlāda enunciates his philosophy in clearer terms.[8]

Pañcaśikha who had discussed earlier with king Janaka the question of the rites after death (*cf.* last para on page 45) is now asked by Janaka as to how one should overcome old age and death—by Tapas, actions, scriptures or intellect? The reply is rather abstruse. He says that there is no escape from them but still one can go beyond them. The days months and years may roll on but one may be on the eternal path of emancipation and thus avoid them. One who had established himself in the true eternal nature should not worry about them.[9] Nārada, the immortal sage and the peripatetic wanderer, we meet in the ***Mahābhārata*** a few times. At Śāntiparva 329 he is seen instructing Śuka. The former asks Nārada, "Wherein lies the highest god"? Nārada in reply gives him the teaching of Sanatkumāra, the famous sage who had taken to the life of renunciation and was a life-long celibate. The advice of this Sanatkumāra is that there is nothing higher than knowledge, as miserable as attachment and as good as charity. Truth is the highest good.[10]

Later on we meet Nārada in the capacity of a student studying at the feet of Nārāyaṇa. When Nārāyaṇa who constituted the very soul of the universe was practising severe austerities at Badari, Nārada the ever wandering sage came to him and asked, "O Lord, when you are the father and mother of the entire world, whom do you worship? The answer which is supposed to be a secret is that the non-manifest subtle and eternal principle called kṣetrajña is worshipped by him.[11]

---

8. शान्तिपर्व 222. स्वभावात्संप्रवर्तन्ते निवर्तन्ते तथैव च।
सर्वे भावास्तथाऽभावाः पुरुषार्थो न विद्यते ॥ १५

9. „ 310. निवृत्तिर्न तयोरस्ति नानिवृत्तिः कथञ्चन।
न ह्यहानि निवर्तन्ते न मासा न पुनः क्षपाः ॥

10. शांति 320. नास्ति विद्यासमं चक्षुर्नास्ति सत्यसमं तपः।
नास्ति रागसमं दुःखं नास्ति त्यागसमं सुखम् ॥६

11. शान्तिपर्व 335-347.

Cosmogony :—In ten chapters of Śāntiparva (182-192) Bhṛgu, the great sage gives at great length to Bhāradvāja the account of the origin and end of the world, the how and why, Dharma-adharma, the nature of Jīva etc. Mānasa, the immortal eternal God well-known as avyakta is the source of the creation starting with mahat, ahaṁkāra etc. Then the omniscient created Ākāśa from whom arise Vāri, Agni and Māruta. The combination of the last two gives rise to earth. Svayaṁbhū created the celestial lotus from whom arose Brahmā, the repository of Veda and well known as Ahaṁkāra. All the elements are lord Brahmā himself. The Mānasa then creates the various beings with the help of mind. The order of the elements is Ākāśa, water, wind, fire and earth each with a special quality of its own. In 185, the functions of the Fire and the Wind are explained. Fire resides in the head and Prāṇa between the head and the heart. Prāṇa is the living principle. The functions of the different Prāṇas are then given. Here Bhāradvāja, like a materialist, argues that since the five elements do the different functions there is no necessity for Jīva. In reply Bhṛgu explains the characteristics of Jīva and his functions. It is he who perceives and experiences emotions and in his absence the body has no experience. In the order of creation of the casts first came the Brāhmaṇas. Actually the whole world first consisted of the Brāhmaṇas but through certain vices they became Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. But all have the right to the performance of customary and ritual duties. From this extremely brief summary of the 10 chapters we could see thatt he creation of Mahat, Ahaṁkāra from Avyakta is very similar to the Sāṅkhya view regarding evolution but this epic version differs from Sāṅkhya view substantially in understanding Mānasa deva as the highest principle, identifying Brahmā with Ahaṁkāra, calling Viṣṇu as the creator of Ahaṁkāra etc. The explanation regarding the evolution of the elements is highly imaginative and the sequence is different from the classical Sāṅkhya theory. No proper reply is given to the Bhāradvāja question regarding the necessity of Jīva. Not only here but through the Mokṣaparva where cosmogony is discussed more stress is laid on the elements than on the other higher principles. A very curious theory is proposed regarding the origination of the four castes.

Since these wandering mendicants have an active interest in the safety and welfare of the world, though they themselves have renounced it, they give advice to kings in the sphere of politics also. In fact there is hardly a subject which they touch and do not adorn. An instance of this is provided by the Kālakavṛkṣīya muni who on his own went to the king of the Kośala country and warned him against his evil advisers and ministers. Not content with this he stayed with him for some time and continued to guide the destinies of his kingdom.[12]

12. शान्तिपर्व 82.

Nārada gives a talk to Vāsudeva on the dissensions in kingdom, internal and external, brought upon by us or others, and explains him how to meet them without even drawing a sword.[13]

On another occasion Utathya, the knower of Brahman, instructed Māndhātā in the science of kingship and emphasised to him that a king must govern rightly and justly—then only kingdom prospers.[14] Vāmadeva similarly told king Vasumanā that he should rule strictly according to law, must not be a follower of wealth alone and must have a control on himself.[15] Advice on similar lines is also offered by sages like Kāmandaka, Ṛṣabha and others.[16]

It is but natural that these great mendicants who have devoted themselves to learning for the whole of the life and have seen life disinterestedly standing on the bank of the stream, as it were, should be in a position to give advice, which touching on the sphere of Ethics is universal in its appeal, rational and sane. Mention may be made of the Tulādhāra Jājali Saṁvāda in Śānti 261-62. A brahmin, renouncing the world, practices severe austerities and it is likely that he would unnecessarily think very highly of himself on that score without knowing the real Dharma. There is an instance of Jājali who in the Vānaprastha period of his life practiced austerities, remained motionless like wood to allow a pair of Kuliṅga birds to live in the matted hair of his, dirty and muddy, wherein in the end the birds mated and the female one gave birth. When he thought very highly of himself on that account the demons asked him to go to merchant Tulādhāra with a view to asking him as to whether he (i.e. Jājali) seeks to know Dharma truly. Jājali went to him to scoff but ultimately remained to pray. Tulādhāra told him that true Dharma lies in not having malice towards anybody or least malice. It does not matter what profession one follows. If he is a friend of everybody in mind, speech and action, then he has understood true Dharma. It lies in fearlessness and equanimity. It is clear that Tulādhāra is expounding Dharma which has an universal appeal in that it aims at human welfare, peace in society and personal tranquility. It is in consonance with the practice of the great for generations. This is not decrying ritualism but rationalising it. Sacrifice has

---

13. शान्तिपर्व 81. आपदो द्विविधाः कृष्ण वाह्याश्चाभ्यंतराश्च ह ।
प्रादुर्भवन्ति वार्ष्णेय स्वकृता यदि वान्यतः ॥१३
शक्त्यान्नदानं सततं तितिक्षार्जवमार्दवम् ।
यथार्हप्रतिपूजा च शस्त्रमेतदनायसम् ॥२१

14. Cf शान्ति. 90, 91.

15. शान्तिपर्व 92. 93. 94; cf 90.4—धर्माय राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु
माधान्तरिति जानीहि राजा लोकस्य रक्षिता ॥

16. कामन्दक advises king अङ्गिरिष्ठ—शान्ति 123.
ऋषभ ,, ,, वीरद्युम्न— ,, 128.

a place but when offered with study, salutations and cereal offerings. He also lashes out at the greed of the priests.[17]

Equally interesting and instructive from the worldly point of view is the Cirakārika Upākhyāna wherein the value of long deliberation and discrimination is emphasised through the story of Cirakārī, son of Gautama Aṅgirasa, so called perhaps contemptously because of his habit of procrastination.[18] In connection with an enquiry as to what constitutes highest good, Gālava, who had in him all the qualities of a student but was perplexed because different periods of time taught different behaviours, asked Nārada about it, since he thought that there are many scriptures and each of them had the essential teaching hidden. Nārada explained that there are four Āśaramas and having carefully observed them he should take to one of them. Favour to good and restraint of the bad constitutes the highest good. Good behaviour, humility and sympathy to all creatures are recommended. It is also enjoined that one should be in the company of the good and avoid the bad.[19]

Whether corresponding to male ascetics/mendicants, female ascetics/mendicants existed, it is difficult to say definately. Dharmaśāstra does not mention female ascetics except a reference to word Pravrajta in *Viṣṇu*. XXXVI, ***Manu***. VIII and *Nārada*. XII.74. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (III. 6.1 ; 8) mentions one Gārgi Vācaknavī who was not only a Brahmavādini but a Brahmacāriṇī as well. Purāṇas know another such lady Śāndili, otherwise known as Svayaṁprabhā, practising severe penance on Mt. Ṛṣabha. *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 320) mentions a female mendicant. Sulabhā who had a conversation on Mokṣa Dharma with Janaka. Janaka mistook her to be a Brahmaṇa Saṁnyāsinī. She however was a Kṣatriya girl born in the family of the royal sage and had become a Saṁnyāsinī because she could not find a suitable husband. The mistake of Janaka as well as the truth regarding Sulabhā indicate the existence of female ascetics in both the brahmin and the kṣatriya castes.

This Sulabhā had heard of Janaka who had a control over his senses, had taken to renunciation and was a student of emancipatory knowledge. She came to his

---

17. शान्तिपर्व 202 ; वेदाहं जाजले धर्मं सरहस्यं सनातनम् ।
सर्वभूतहितं मैत्रं पुराणं यं जना विदुः ।।५
अद्रोहेणैव भूतानामल्पद्रोहेण वा पुनः ।
या वृत्तिः स परो धर्मस्तेन जीवामि जाजले ।।६

18. शान्तिपर्व 260.

10. शान्तिपर्व 287.—आश्रमास्तात चत्वारो यथा संकल्पिताः पृथक् ।
तान्सर्वाननुपश्य त्वं समाश्रित्येति गालव ।।१२
यत्तु निःश्रेयसं सम्यक् तच्चैवासंशयात्मकम् ।
अनुग्रहं च मित्राणाममित्राणां च निग्रहम् ।।१४

court to find his real worth. Janaka first asks her regarding her movements, parentage etc. and introduces himself as the disciple of Pañcaśikha. The latter having taught the three-fold Mokṣa, Janaka is now established in the highest state. He goes on to add that he has taken to complete renunciation and has no attachment to his kingdom. He then asks her her caste, learning and intention in coming to him. Sulabhā not ruffled by the king's harsh words gives him first a discourse on the theory of a sentence and speaks of its virtues. Turning to philosophy she declares that Prakṛti is the origin of all creatures. It is done to such minuteness that the changes which take place every moment are not noticed. Thus when there is a constant change like the movement of a seed where is the propriety in questions like "Whence has one come? etc". Sulabhā enjoins the king to see his self and body in others as he sees them in himself and then the question 'who are you' would not arise. She also ridicules his claims to renunciation and non-attachment to his kingdom.[20]

This conversation between king Janaka and Sulabhā is very intriguing and it is very difficult to understand the exact meaning of the terms she chooses to use. It only appears that she does not set much value on the abstract philosophy and the problems it poses but lays stress on the Ācāra.

To take a general review of the teachings of the various mendicants from the *Mahābhārata* referred to in this paper, one is inclined to feel that these mendicants had no special philosophy of their own. Of course whatever philosophy they advocated was akin to the Sāṅkhya and Yoga. But they were more interested in Ācāra and hence as would be clear from the analysis given above, even abstract philosophical problems they tackled from this angle. Another noteworthy feature of these sages is they never arrogated to themselves sole monopoly of knowledge and greatness. At Anu. 31, Nārada himself gives to Vāsudeva a list of people whom he salutes. The list indicates that people who do their duties conscientiously and willingly, who are truly generous and self-sacrificing deserve honour at the hands of the great sages even.

A reference now may be made to the other side of the picture. It is true that in India detachment from the world and practice of austerities have been regarded, from early times, as an unfailing means of salvation. It had also received the approbation of the time and the great. In fact the doctrine of renunciation of the worldly goods in exchange for the life of a beggar is found in most of the religions. In *Mahābhārata*, however, at a couple of places, there is a discussion on the value or otherwise of renunciation and it appears as if this mode of life is derided. When Yudhiṣṭhira, after the great battle is won, is disguested with the world as a result of

20. शान्ति 320. छत्रादिषु विशेषेषु मुक्तं मां विद्धि तत्त्वत:
यस्माच्चैतन्मया प्राप्तं ज्ञानं वैशेषिकं पुरा । यस्य नान्यः प्रवक्ताऽस्ति मोक्षं तमपि मे शृणु २३.
आत्मन्येवात्मनाऽऽत्मानं यथा त्वमनुपश्यसि । एवमेवात्मनात्मानं अन्यस्मिन्कि न पश्यसि 125.

the cruelties, slaughter and consequent misery the war brought in its train, and wants to become a Saṁnyāsī, Bhīma dissuades him by pouring scorn on the Saṁnyāsāśrama. He says, 'Men of learning do not acknowledge renunciation. Those who have acute vision consider it a transgression of law. O king, if man could obtain perfection by renunciation then even the mountains and the trees should very soon attain salvation. They are seen always in renunciation, have no troubles, no possessions and are perpetual celibates.[21] Arjuna also in the next chapter relates a story according to which in the days of yore Indra condemned some brahmins who had taken to the stage of renunciation straight from the first stage. He made them return to the stage of a householder.[22] Of course one must remember that Bhīma while advancing the arguments against the path of renunciation was prejudiced and was actuated by an earnest desire to dissuade his elder brother from taking to a life of renunciation whilein the story referred to by Arjuna the underlying purpose was not to condemn the fourth stage but to preserve all the four stages, particularly the stage of a householder which is said to be the prop of the three. This only means that renunciation, generally accepted by Indians whichever religion they belonged to, was objected to by a few and that too if it involves ignoring the other stages. I do not think it is correct to hold that Saṁnyāsa was originally the doctrine of the dissenters from the orthodox ritualism of the ancient Āryans.

---

21. शान्ति 10. तस्मादिह कृतप्रज्ञास्त्यागं न परिचक्षते ।। १८
यदि संन्यासतः सिद्धिं राजा कश्चिदवाप्नुयात् ।
पर्वताश्च द्रुमाश्चैव क्षिप्रं सिद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ।। २४
एते हि नित्यसंन्यासा दृश्यन्ते निरुपद्रवाः ।
अपरिग्रहवन्तश्च सततं ब्रह्मचारिणः ।। २५

22. शान्ति 11. तस्माद्गार्हस्थ्यमुद्वोढुं पुष्करं प्रब्रवीमि वः ।। २०
कुटुम्बविधिनाऽनेन यस्मिन्सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।। २१

MAHĀKSHATRAPA ĪŚVARADATTA

By

PARMESHAWARI LAL GUPTA

Some silver coins, similar to those of the Western Kshatrapas, are known of one Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta, dated in the first and second years of his reign. They are found within the territories of the Western Kshatrapas, so it is believed that Īśvaradatta, the issuer of these coins, had usurped their authority for a short period. But when this usurpation took place, none is sure of it.

Since the recorded coins of Īśvaradatta are known only of two years of his reign and the coins of the Western Kshatrapas for the years between 171 (249 A.D.) and 176 (256 A.D.) were not known to Bhagvanlal Indraji, he suggested that the first year of Īśvaradatta corresponded with 249 A.D.[1] But later discoveries made it clear that there was no such gap in the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas between the years 171 and 176.[2]

Then the coins for the years between 158 (the last recorded year of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena) and 161 (the earliest known date of his son and successor Mahākshatrapa Yaśodāman) were not known in the time of Rapson. So he placed Īśvaradatta in this gap.[3] He based his assignment mainly on the paleography of the coin-legend, the style of the portrait and the treatment of the eye on the bust. But now the Sarvania hoard has supplied the date 160 for Mahākshatrapa Yaśodāman[4]; coin for the year 159 only is wanting. If only for this reason Īśvaradatta can be placed here is very doubtful. It is impossible in itself. Bhandarkar has well shown the hollowness of the other arguments given in favour of this assignment.[5] Apart from all these, this cannot be possible for the simple reason that we have now the continued coinage of Kshatrapa Vīradāman, during the period of the so-called gap.[6] Had the authority of the Western Kshatrapas been usurped during this period, this crown-prince or Kshatrapa would also have been ousted out of his power; or if the usurpation of Īśvaradatta was just a subjugation, we ought to have the coins of Dāmasena and not of Vīradāman with the lower title of Kshatrapa, though this title did never mean subordination during this period.

---

1. *JRAS*, 1890, p. 657.
2. *BMC, AK*, p. 136-39.
3. *Ibid*, intro., p. xxxvi.
4. *ASR, AR*, 1913-14, p. 229.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Sarvania and Vasoj hoards.

Bhandarker has placed Īśvaradatta between the years 110 and 113,[7] where we have a very queer situation according to the coins read by Rapson. While no coin of Rūdrasiṁha I as Mahākshatrapa was known between the years 110 and 113, Rapson had read on a few coins of that king the word Kshatrapa instead of Mahākshatrapa and according to him on these coins the dates were 110 and 112.[8] So Bhandarker presumed that Rūdrasiṁha I was reduced to the lower status of Kshatrapa between the years 110 and 113 due to Īśvaradatta.

But now we have got a coin of Rūdrasiṁha I of the year 112 with the title of Mahākshatrapa[9] and the reading of the year 112 on the coins having the lower title is very doubtful. We have no traces of the unit figure 2 on the coins. Only the figure of hundred and digit is clear as 110. We have no coin for the year 111 with either of the two titles. In its absence, we cannot make any hypothesis. For the present we have only the coins of the year 110 with the lower title. This lower title on a few coins may not be due to any reduction of the status of Rūdrasiṁha, but may simply be engraver's error. Such errors in Indian numismatics are not unknown. On many silver coins of Kumāragupta I we have the title *Rājādhirāja* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja*.[10] Coins of Vijayasena are known with the titles Khatrapa and Mahākshatrapa simoultaneously for the years 162 to 167.[10a] This cannot be explained unless we admit that reverses of these coins were struck by the old dies. If here it was so, it might be the case with Rudrasiṁha's coins also. The coins with the lower title kshatrapa might have been issued, when he was Mahākhatrapa, impressed with wrong dies. So these coins in any way do not suggest any gap or userpation between the years 110 and 112.

So, the points where Īśvaradatta had so far been fixed are very doubtful in themselves and it is difficult to put him in any one of them. In fact the placing of Īśvaradatta in the chronology of the Western Kshatrapas has not yet been taken in its proper setting. The most valuable information that we could get on this point from the hoards of the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, has always been ignored, whereas coin-hoards have always been found useful in the construction of chronologies of many other dynasties and in the determination of the place of the kings. In fact the hoards of the coins of Western Kshatrapas have not been properly published in most cases, to enable one to utilise them fully. Of the eight hoards of these coins, so far known, only two have been adequately published. They are as follows :

1. *Uparkot Hoard.* This was a hoard of about 1200 coins. It has been briefly reported by Rev. Scott.[11] This hoard included three coins of Īśvaradatta

7. *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 230.
8. *BMC, AK*, p, 90.
9. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, p. 94.
10. *BMC, G. D.*, p. 96, 100 ; for other defective legends, p. 103.
10a. Sarvania, Junagorh and Sonapur hoards.
11. *JBBRS*, XX (Old Series), p. 201ff.

of the first year and the last Western Kshatrapa represented in the hoard was Svāmī Rūdrasena III with the latest date 273.

2. *Sarvania Hoard.* This was the hoard of 2407 coins and was exhaustively dealt by Bhandarker.[12] It included six coins of Īśvaradatta of the first year and the last Western Kshatrapa represented in the hoard was Svāmī Rūdrasena III with the latest date 273.

3. *Sonepur Hoard.* This was the hoard of 633 coins and was examined by G. V. Acharya but it is briefly reported.[13] However his detailed examination report is in the Prince of Wales Museum; and it shows that it included two coins of Īśvaradatta, one each of his two regnal years one and two. The last Western Kshatrapa represented in the hoard was Svāmī Rūdrasena III with the latest date 301.

4. *Vasoj Hoard.* This was the hoard of 591 coins and was exhaustively examined by G. V. Acharya, but it has been very briefly reported.[14] However his detailed examination report is in the Prince of Wales Museum; and it shows that it included no coin of Īśvaradatta. It had coins from Rudrasiṁha I to Svāmī Rudrasena III. The latest coin of the later is dated 289.

5. *Junagarh Museum Hoard.* This was the hoard of 520 coins and was found somewhere in Junagarh State but no records are available. This was also examined by G. V. Acharya and he has briefly reported.[15] His detailed examination report is in the Prince of Wales Museum. It included the coins of the Western Kshatrapas from Rūdrasena to Bhartṛidāman and had no coin of Īśvaradatta.

6. *Sanchi Hoard.* This was the hoard of 41 coins and was found in excavations in 1916-17. It is published in detail in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi.*[16] It included the coins up to Svāmī Rudrasena III. He was represented there by a single coin dated 272. There is no coin of Īśvaradatta.

7. *Gondarmau Hoard.* This hoard has recently come to light and is briefly noticed in *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55.[17] It consisted of 51 coins from Vijayasena to Svāmī Rūdrasena III dating from 157 to 270. But it has no coin of Īśvaradatta.

12. *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 227ff.
13. *N.S.*, XLVII, p. 95-96.
14. *Ibid*, p. 98.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
16. p. 60-64.
17. p. 63.

8. *Karad Hoard.* This hoard was found in 1861 and is reported in *Bombay Gazetter.*[18] It included the coins of Vijayasena, Dāmajadaśrī III, Rudrasena II. Viśvasiṁha, Bhartṛidāman and Viśvasena. It had no coin of Iśvaradatta.

A careful perusal of the above list shows that five out of the eight hoards, do not have the coins of Īśvaradatta. One of these—Junagarh Museum hoard—has coins only up to Bhartṛidāman, whose latest date is 217. This covers all the periods suggested for Īśvarasena by different scholars. So is the case with Karad hoard. It included coins from Vijayasena to Viśvasena. Had Iśvaradatta been there, we should have at least a coin of his in these hoards. Sonepur hoard is approximately of the same size and includes coins of much later kings, yet it has a coin of Īśvaradatta. So the pausity of his coins can in no way be placed as an argument for the absence of his coin in the Junagarh hoard. This alone is sufficient to disapprove any of the dates suggested above.

Now, his coins are found in three hoards, all of which include the coins of Svāmī Rūdrasena III. The two hoards, which include his coins for the first year only have the latest coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III. dated 273, and the hoard that includes the coin of the second year also has the coins of Svāmi Rudrasena III for the years from 284 to 301 also. Sanchi and Gonderman hoards also have the coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III, but in them his latest known dates are 272 and 270 respectively. The absence of Īśvaradatta's coins from these hoards, suggests that his coins had not come in existence at least till 272. They came in existence in 273 or a little after.

These facts if viewed properly, unmistakenly suggest that Īśvaradatta ousted Svāmī Rūdrasena III in 273 or a little after and usurped his entire dominion. This menace caused panic among the people and they buried their treasures during the beginning of Īśvaradatta's reign. This is well supported by the fact that we do not possess any coin of Svāmī Rudrasena III after 273 till the year 284.

Since his coins are not known later than the second year of his reign, it appears that he came like a comet and soon vanished. Having been deprived of the power, Svāmī Rūdrasena III, did not leave any stone unturned to get back his authority, in which he ultimately succeeded. This might have taken some time before he could establish himself, and this accounts well with the absence of his coins from the year 274 to 283.

18. Vol. I, pt. i, p. 48-49.

EXPLORATION AT BILSAD

By

BHAGWAN SINGH SURYAVANSHI.

Ever since the dawn of the history Bilsad has been an important city of India. Its magnimity and celebrity once reached the pinnacle which inspired the foreigners to pay a visit in course of their pilgrimages. It has also been a seat of learning and had its own part in the development of Bharatiya culture.

It is situated in Aliganj sub-division of district Etah, Uttar Pradesh, and 5 miles far from Rudain station of Western Railway on the main line between Farukhabad and Kasganj junction. Aliganj is an important town in this area and at present is a trade centre. From Aliganj also there is a mud road to Bilsad. In ancient days it had in its neighbourhood the famous city of Kaṁpilya (Kampila). Yuan Chwang mentions that Kanauj (Ka-no-ku-she) was 400 li i.e. about 50 miles from Bilsad. Nearly 3 miles to its north-west there is another ancient site named Jujhotā which has been ascribed in the bardic chronicles to the Chandela Rajputs during the 10th and 11th century A.D.

At present it is a small village having its three divisions named Bilsaḍ Pachiyā, Bilsaḍ Purvā and Bilsaḍ Pattī, i.e. western Bilsaḍ, eastern Bilsaḍ and outlying quarters of Bilsaḍ. It is at present pronounced as Bilsaḍ. Yuan Chwang mentions its name as Pi-lo-shan-na.[1] Mohamedan historian Minhaj-i-siraj[2] calls it Nandana, Talsanda or Talanda. Farishta mentions its name as Bitunda.

Pi-lo-shan-na has been identified by Cunningham[3] at one place with a village called Atranji in district Etah, U.P., situated on the bank of river Kali, but later on he mentions that " the agreement in name and position leaves no doubt that Bilsaṛ or Bilsaṇḍa is the place called Pi-lo-shan-na by Yuan Chwang."[4] Julien[5] tentatively restores this name as Virasana. According to Watters[6] it should be " something like Vilasana or Bhilasana." The topographical account of Yuan Chwang leaves no doubt about its identification. He started from Ngo-hi-ch-ita-lo i.e. Ahicchattrā (modern Ram Nagar 20 miles to the west of Bareilly) and then

1. Watters Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and Bushel, p. 332, :London, 1904.

2. Raverty, Major H. G., *Tabkat-i-Nasiri, A General History of the Muhamedan Dynasties of Asia*, I, 679, London, 1881 ; also note 6.

3. *Archaeological Survey Report* 1875-76, 1877-78, Vol. XI, 13.

4. *Archaeological Survey of India*, XXI, 103.

5. Julien (Stanislas), Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang et de Lexiographie Chinoise, II, 285, Paris, 1842.

6. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* 332, London, 1904 : Beal Samuel, *Buddhistic Records of Western World*, I, 201, London, 1906.

crossing the Ganga he turned to the south and after covering 270 li he reached Pi-lo-shan-na via Kampil. He again started from Pi-lo-shan-na and reached Kanauj (Ka-no-ku-she) via Kapitha i.e. Saṅkāśya (Sankisa) covering an area of 400 li. He divides his journey into two parts. According to his description he travelled 200 li south-east and reached Sankisa and from this place he again travelled 200 li north-east and reached Kanauj. We find that Sankisa is 17 miles far from Bilsad (Pi-lo-shan-na) which comes to 100 li only and Kanauj is 88 miles from Sankisa which comes to 300 li thus the total comes to 400 li. In this way his distance from Pi-lo-shan-na to Kanauj is right but the division of 200 li from Pi-lo-shan-na to Kapitha and from Sankisa (Ka-pi-tha) to Kanauj (Ka-no-ku-she) is wrong. Fahien[7] seems to be quite correct when he mentions the above distance which comes to about 49 miles. Therefore Pi-lo-shan-na is identical with Bilsaḍ. Further this identification receives striking confirmation from the archaeological remains unearthed by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

Its mention in the works of Mohamedan historians is a matter of controversy as the reading of the scholars regarding its name differs with each other.[8] Cunningham first of all reads it as " Nandana " and identifies it with Nava-deo-kali, a village near Rijgir, the famous fort of Ālha and Ūdala, situated 4 miles south-east of Kanauj ; later on he also reads it as Talanda or Talsanda.[9] Briggs[10] reads it as " Bitunda " and identifies with Bulandshahr, while Hajji Dabir reads it as " Tasanda."[11] Most of the Raverty's M.S.S. are also in favour of " Talsanda," but he noticed " Talanda," " Talbanda " and " Basida " as variant.[12] Profs. Elliot and Dowson also give the readings of " Talanda " and " Talsanda." Thornton identifies it with Dursena, a pargana and town on the river Baghin, a tributary of the river Yamuna, 7 miles south-west of the right bank and 39 miles east of Banda, Lat. 25°·27N, Long. 80°·57E...[13] Prof. Hodivala identifies it with Tilsanda, a village near Kanpur.[14]

The identification of Cunningham with Nava-deo-kali creates a shadow of doubt as Nava-deo-kali is situated only 4 miles to Kanauj which was the strong hold of Mohamedans, hence "Nandana" being the stronghold of Hindus cannot be near Kanauj.

Minhaj mentions that the village was surrounded by a dense forest and escaped from the eyes of the Mohamedan generals. It was in the limits of Kanauj, but Raverty adds here the word " district " to understand the meanings. It is

7. Beal, *Travels of Fah Hian and Sung Yun, Buddhist pilgrims, from China to India* (400 A.D. to 518 A.D.) from the Chinese, chap. XVIII, London, 1869.
8. *Tabkat-i-Nasiri* 210, 1, 14 ; 291, 1, 12. B. I. text quoted by Hodivala S. H., *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, 222, Bombay, 1939.
9. *Arch. Survey*, XI, 21, 1875-76, 77-78.
10. Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mohamedan Power*, I, 237, Calcutta, 1901.
11. Zafar-ul-Wālih, Edited by Ross Sir E. D., 713, 1, 21, London, 1902.
12. Raverty, *Tab-Nasi*, I, 679, London, 1881.
13. Thornton, *Imperal Gazetteer of India*, XIV, 307.
14. Hodivala, *ibid.*

desirable to think that before the Mohamedan conquest Kanauj was the capital of the Gahadavaras; obviously therefore the village was in the limits of the kingdom and the word "district" serves no purpose rather creates a confusion here. The identifications of Thornton with Dursena and Tilsanda of Hodivala do not agree with the location given by Minhaj.

In the case of Bulandshahr it is desirable to understand that it is quite near to Delhi and was a famous place at that time. From the Mohamedan historians we know that this was known to the Muslim conquerors from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni as, in the year 1018 A.D. in the course of his 11th invasion Mahmud ravaged the place. Again in 1193 A.D. the place was attacked by Qutub-ud-din Aibak and the Raja Chandrasena died in defence of the fort. Bulandshahr was given to Malik Muhammad Darāz Qad. Further this place has already been mentioned in Tabakat-i-Nasiri as Baran, therefore the question of identifying it with Talsanda or Talanda does not arise.[15]

From the District Gazetteer of Etah it is evident that the whole area surrounding Bilsaḍ was covered with dense forest of Butea Frondosa (Palāśa) the remains of which still exist there.

The controversy becomes meaningless when we read that Cunningham further remarks actually one good manuscript gives Bilsar or Bilsanda as the name of the place. As Bilsad is not directly in the way from Delhi or Kanauj and was not a famous place in those days therefore it is possible that it would have escaped from the eyes of the Mohamedan conquerors who were busy in capturing other important places.

According to the tradition preserved by the villagers its name was Biriyagarh ruled by one Vira Siṁha. Vira Siṁha was the brother of Dhira Siṁha and contemporary of the famous heroes Ālhā and Ūdala. In the famous ballad Ālha-khaṇḍa Vira Siṁha has been described as a feudatory chief of Biriyāgarh under Jaya-Chandra Deva Gaharavaḍa.

The whole area of Bilsad is covered with broken bricks of former habitations and mounds. The large mound 33 feet high betrays the existence of the fort. To the south-east of central mound there is another mound 20 feet in height called Gandhor-ka-rurhia but no one knows its meaning.

Excavations of Cunningham brought to light a wall which may be the wall of a square Buddhist temple. There is also an octagonal well near the temple which resembles the wells of Jetvanārāma at Śrāvasti. General Cunningham in 1875-76 dug a trench 7½ feet deep across the big mound. In course of his excavation he came across many large bricks measuring 14¼ × 8½ × 2¾″ which may be the bricks

15. Nevill, H. R., *Gazetteer of Bulandshahr*, district U.P., 145, Allahabad, 1903.

of Aśokan monastery.[16] It seems that all the bricks of the above monastery have been carried away by the villagers to construct their own houses.

During 636 and 643 A.D., Yuan Chwang visited the place and mentions it as a capital controlling an area of 2000. i.e. about 340 miles in circuit.[17] The area of Bilsad city has been described as 12 li i.e. about 2 miles in circuit.[18] The climate and product of this place resembled to Ahicchatrā. He writes that there were five deva temples[19] and sectarians lived pell mell. The famous Asokan Tope as recorded by Yuan Chwang was in the midst of the town and within the enclosures of an old monastery which was 100 feet high in its ruined condition on the spot where the Buddha had preached for 7 days and by its side were the vestiges of the sitting and the exercising places of the past four Buddhas.[20] The people were chiefly Brahminists and a few reverencing Buddhism. There were also two Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks.

We know nothing about it as an administrative unit. From Bilsaḍ Pillar Inscription we come to know that *Dhurva Śarmaṇa* was honoured by the *Pariṣada* for his task. It seems therefore that this *Pariṣada* was the governing body of the city. Since the word *Pariṣada* is a technical term to denote the sense of governing body (parliament) in the ancient literature, therefore it would have been a municipal organization of the city. Further the act of awarding honour is beyond the jurisdiction of at temple committee which is exclusively reserved for managements which also confirms the above conjecture. It would have been a prosperous town and the sculptural remains supplies us a piece of evidence for the purpose.

Our sources throw much light on its religious condition. The religious endowment of *Dhruva Śarmaṇa* represents the principal religion of the city. Bilsaḍ Pillar Inscription refers to the temple (áyatana) of *Svāmí Mahāsena* (Kartikeya), the God of War, also known as *Brahmaṇyadeva* in whose honour the temple was equipped by the devotee with a (1) *Pratoli* or gateway having a flight of steps, *Svarga Sopana*, to reach its height as if leading to heaven, resembling a pearl necklace of the kind called *Kauberacchanda* and white with the radiance of crystalline gems, *Sphatika Maṇidala Ābhāsa gauraṁ* ; (2) abode of those who are eminent in respect

16. *Arch. Survey Report*, XI, 16.
17. *Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travel*, I, 332, London, 1904.
18. Julien, *ibid*, II, 235, Paris, 1842.
19. Watters, *ibid.*
20. These five temples of Devas have been taken by the historians to be five shrines of Brahamanical deities which does not seem to convey the correct sense here, as the word Deva has been used in the sense of a king in the epigraphic records. Therefore the five Deva temples would have beeu the five palaces of the five ruling chiefs who ruled in different times. Further in Bilsad there are different kinds of bricks which are obviously of different times. The largest bricks are of Mauryan times and the latest of Gupta period. The measurements of some of them are as follows :—

1st variety	16" × 16" × 4"
2nd ,,	14" × 9" × 3"
3rd ,,	13" × 8" × 3"

of virtuous qualities, *Kṛitvā abhirāmaṁ Munivasati* ; (3) a *Dharma Sattra* or free feeding or alm-houses ; (4) a lofty pillar, *stambha*.[21]

The account of Yuan Chwang confers us with the fact that it was a seat of Brahmanical religion. He also quotes a tradition that Lord Buddha delivered his sermon here for seven days. The name of the sutra has been given as *Yun-chic-ch-u-ching* which according to Watters means " the Sutra of the place of the elements of the Skanda." In Sanskrit it can be restored to *Skandhadhatusthāna sūtra*. Mr. Nanjio says that it means " the Sutra of the basis of the elements of phenomena," i.e., of the senses and their object may be restored to Sanskrit as *Skandha-dhātu Upasthāna sutra*.[22] No sutra with the names restored above seems to be known to the collection fo Buddhists scriptures. The existence of Asokan Tope with the exercising places of the past four Buddhas may also prove it to be the seat of Buddhism formerly. When Yuang Chwang visited the place there were a few Buddhists all of Mahayanism. In 643 A.D., he halted here for two months to hear the discourses on the Abhidharma Śastra. General Cunningham in course of his excavation came across many octagonal wells which according to him is a particular sign of Buddhism as the shape is much familiar in Burma even these days.[23]

The heaps of sculptural remains indicate that there were many temples. The existence of goddess Ganga and Yamuna on the pillars of the *Pratoli* also proves their divine characters. About 50 paces west of the Toraṇ pillars there is a fine stone trough of Gupta period on which we find a seated figure with two hands and eight snake hoods. Cunningham identifies it with Viṣṇu ; but according to Agni Purana there are 24 forms of Viṣṇu and none of them is two armed ; therefore the identification does not stand to the evidence of the iconographic texts. It resembles the Nagas of Bharhut stupa ; therefore either it is a Naga deity or Balarama.

The iconographers of Bilsad portrayed many beautiful icons in the days of its great glory ; some of them are really noteworthy. To the north-east of the fort mound, under a pipal tree there is an image of Bodhisatva, 2 feet in height, and putting on a crown, two necklaces, waist cloth, and rest part is uncovered. From the style of the image it can be dated to the 4th century A.D. On another piece of black stone we find an anthropomorphic representation of Gajalakṣmi with two elephants giving her a ceremonial bath. The third is a fine image of Yakṣṇi. She is bare headed, having elongated ears, putting on a bodice, her upper garment (Uttrīya) hangs downward from her shoulders, takes a turn again to the back and rests on her left arm. She is putting on a saree which clings close from her hips and covering half of her feet. The drapery is transparent. Her saree is supported

---

21. According to the interpretation of Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 44, Calcutta, 1888.

22. Watters, *ibid*.

23. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, XI, 14.

by a girdle. The goddess is two handed, holding in her left hand a vase while the right is held in Abhaya mudrā. It is of Mathura sandstone and in style resembles with the images of Yakṣṇís of Mathura school of arts, and may be dated to 1st or 2nd century A.D. The broken images of Jinatírthaṅkaras prove the existence of Jainism also. About 80 feet to the square pillars at Bilsad there is a Siva linga 2½ feet in height and 10 inches in diameter of Mathura sandstone with his Vāhana the bull looking up at the deity. A left portion of a pedestal bears the injured figure of God Gaṇeśa with a lion sitting besides him. On the upper edge of the piece only a foot of the deity is left. It may be the anthropomorphic representation of God Siva with Parvati, his consort. Another piece bears the figure of a crocodile with a broken foot of a female deity which indicates it to be a representation of Godesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[24] It resembles in style, size and other technical details with an image of Ganga and Yamunā of Gupta period in the Yogeśvara temple at Soron, District Etah, U.P.

We have seen up to this time the grandeur of Bilsad which it acquired up to the sunset of the Hindu India; but with the opening of the 13th century A.D. it perused the wavering clouds of Islamic invasion. The political condition, emerged after the decline of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, left India completely helpless to encounter the disruptive forces and dissipated entire country into small states, governed by petty kings, all void of the sense of nationality and struggling for their territorial aggrandisements and other selfish ends. Even under these petty kings there were innumerable feudatories connected any how with the royal dynasties. From the analysis of the political condition of the time we come to the conclusion that there were three major groups which dared to face the great wave of Islamic flood in northern India:

I. All Suryavaṁśi Rajputs including Chauhāns, Solaṅkis and Kachhwahas, and some Chandravaṁśis forming a group under the leadership of chivalrous King Prithvīrāj Chauhan.

II. Gahaḍawāras of Kanauj including Rāthors, Parmaras, Pratiharas, Chandelas and Baghelas.

III. Parmaras and Chandelas of Mahoba forming a separate group under Parmardi, the King of Mahoba.

It was a most unfortunate day in the whole history that with the defeat of Prithviraja Chauhan and Jai Chandradeva Gahaḍwada marked the decadence of independent India. It gave a fatal blow to the tottering structures of Rajput principalities, the governing agencies of the times, and crushed them altogether.

---

24. All the sculptures mentioned above, are fairly preserved in the Museum of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

It appears from the account of Mohamedan historians that Bilsad was a petty principality covering an area of few hundred miles. Local traditions as preserved by the bards enable us to have a rough idea of its situation before the Mohamedan conquest.

According to traditional bardic chronicles northern side of Bilsad was occupied by the Solaṅki Rajputs of Bhonepur (near modern Soron in Etah district, U.P.). To its north-eastern side, Shyampur, pargana Harpalpur, district Hardoi, U.P., was a head quarter of Chauhans, descendents of Shyam, a chief from the Chauhan house of Chitrakuta. To the south-east was the principality of Khor under one Jai-Siṁha-Deo named as Rao Purjana Pāla who established his sway in the beginning of 13th century A.D. To its west Asatapāla, a chief of Chandela dynasty, founded Sakit, a town in the subdivision and district of Etah, U.P. In the bardic manuscripts he has been described as a descendent of Kudara and came from Kudarkot near modern Etawah. On the coins of Asatapāla his name Asat is written but this dynasty was also overthrown by the Chauhans near about 12th century A.D. on the eve of Mohamedan invasion. This must have been a Chauhan fort. To its extreme south there was again a Chauhan principality of Bhogaon, on the Grand-Trunk-Road and bordering the districts of Etah and Mainpuri, U.P.,[25] founded by a feudatory Bhogā.[26] It seems that after the defeat of Prithvi Raja, Jai Chandra and Parmardi, the Mohamedans occupied the principal cities of northern India and when they fully established themselves, then they started interior campaigns against the surviving off-shoots of Rajput domination. Therefore the invasion of Bilsad was first of all carried out by Balban in the days of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, when he freed himself from Chandela and Chauhan revolts. During the reign of Iltutmish, Rajputs rose up at arms and led the vanguard against the Turkish domination. Mangala Bhavadeva the "recalsetrate" Rajput[27] chief carried on a murderous campaign and Guhdots gave a crushing defeat on Mohamedans at Nagda.[28]

In the Kalinjar inscription of Virvarman one Trailokya Malla, a Chandela chief, is described as the "Uplifter of the land from the ocean of disaster caused by

---

25. According to the traditions maintained by Chauhan bards Rao Bhavarpal Singh and others, Bhogā was a Chauhan Chief of Sambhar who founded Bhogaon roughly in the 11th century A.D. When he died his wife Viro dedicated her life with the funeral pyre of her husband and thus performed the rite of *Sati*. The ruins of the temple of Viro exist 1½ miles to the south-east of present Bhogaon town. At present it is a place of worship by the local residents. Another temple of the same dynasty described as the temple of *Sati Sundari* exists in Etawah. This may prove that once Etawah was under the Chauhan principality of Bhogaon.

26. The Bardic traditions quoted above have been collected from the manuscripts of the various Rajput bards of Rajasthan. These manuscripts are their traditional accounts maintained by their forefathers as legal Rajput chroniclers. The script in which these manuscripts have been written resembles to old Nagari characters. For reference two names will suffice (1) Sri Bhawar Pal Singh Rao, Post Office Rajgarh, village Srinagar, Alwar, and (2) Karan Singh Karauli, Rajasthan.

27. Habibullah, A. B. M., *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 146, Lahore, 1945; Sharma, S. R., *Crescent in India, I, 80, Bombay, 1937.*

28. Ojha, *History of Rajputana, I, 272, Ajmer, 1938-41.*

the Turushkas " and he reigned between 1205 and 1245 A.D. or 1247 A.D.[29] The inscription of Hariśchandradeva, son of Jayacandradeva Gahadawar, the last King of Kanauj, describes him as a paramount sovereign of Kanauj and one who " spread his unequalled fame spotless in the world and who eclipsed the splendour of the sun by means of the dust that was raised by the hoofs of his endless horses which pervaded the circle of the earth and gradually encompassed the sky." In this inscription he has been attributed with the titles of 'गजपति नरपति राजत्रयाधिपति विविध विचार वाचस्पति श्रीम[त] हरि[श्चद्र] देवो विजयी which also confirms his conquest over the Turks.[30]

In this way we see that the reign of Iltutmish witnessed the overthrown of the Turkish Empire and re-establishment of the Rajput domination. Therefore when Iltutmish ascended the throne he had to reaffirm the Mohamedan empire which was limited to the vicinity of Delhi only and there was no time for them to capture the interior petty chiefs. After Iltutmish a succession of almost weak Sultans followed, it was only the sword of Balban (Ulugh Khan) which subdued them. In this way Ulugh Khan was the first Muslim to attack Bilsad, therefore the statement of Prof. Hodivala that it was a revolt seems to be farfetched.

Minhaj-i-Siraj the famous Mohamedan historian in his Tabkat-i-Nasiri furnishes the graphied escription of the campaign thus :—

" In the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called Nandana where there is a very strong fort vying with the wall of Alexander. A body of the infidels shut themselves up in this place and resolved to fight to the last extremity for two days the royal army carried on a murderous conflict at this village but at length the rebels were sent to hell and the place was subdued."[31] It was Thursday 24 Shanwal 645 AH that the fort was captured. The ruling chief of this place is named " Dalaki Wa Malaki " by Minhaj in his " Tabkat-i-Nasiri." Briggs in his Farishta mentions his name as " Dulky and Mulky," in his opinion they were two chiefs. An explanation of this name has been suggested by Thomas that this may be the corrupt form of Trailokya Malla the Chandela chief who according to the Kalinjar inscription of Virvarman wrested Kalanjar from Mohamedans and

---

29. त्रैलोक्यवर्म्म क्षितिपोऽथ राज्यं [श] [शास दु] र्गं प्रविधान वेघा: ।
तुरुष्क कुल्यांवु [बु] धि मग्नघा [त्री] समुघृति विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥ 7 ॥
Epi. Ind. 1, 327, 'Kalingar Inscription of Viravarmana'.

30. तस्मादाशी [सी] द सीमत्वर तुरग खुरक्षोद विक्षि [प्त] घूलिव्याप्त [क्ष्मा] चक्रवाल क्रमकलित नमो रुद्धसूर प्रकास [श]: । सेना संभार संपद्दर [वि] दल दिला दो ‿ माना नरेंद्रश्चं [द्राकं] स्स ‿—यि स्फुरद सम [य] शा: श्री हरिश्चंद्र देव: ॥ 15 ॥

येन प्रणा [मा] [स] पतिन [ना] क्षितिपाल मैलिरत्न प्रभारुचिर चारु पदां [वु] जेन ।उ [द्दं] ण्ड शीतकर मंडल पुडंरीक. [डि] डीरपि [ड मिवशुभ्रय] सो [शो] वितेने ॥ 16 ॥
Epi. Ind., 'Machhlishahr copper Plate Inscription of Hariscaindra deva of Kanauj, Vikrama Sainbat 1253. X, 97.

31. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, II, 344, Aligarh 1952.

established his sway over the whole Chandela territory. Vincent Smith[32] rejects the suggestion and follows W. C. Bennet[33] who proposed that the Dalaki and Malaki were the Bhar Rajas Dal and Bal also named as Tiloki and Biloki who have been credited in local tradition with the conquest of the whole southern Oudh. Crooks and C. A. Elliot are equally sure that Bhar heroes Dal and Bal are mythical.[34] Prof. Hodivala on the ground of Unnao Chronicles and Rae Bareli Settlement Report No. 15 agrees that this Dalaki and Malaki was a raja, i.e., one individual.

It is difficult to enter in the controversy of the identification of Dalaki and Malaki here fully. The first problem whether they were one or two individuals can only be solved with the correct meaning of the word " wa ". As the term " wa " would mean " either " here, and not " and " as has been translated by some scholars, therefore " Dalaki wa Malaki " was one individual and not two, and as Minhaj was not sure of his name, therefore he has used the word " wa " which means either Dalaki or Malaki here. Further the correct identification of " Dalaki wa Malaki " is yet a matter of conjecture. The identification with the famous Chandela Chief Trailokyamal, sponsored by Thomas is far-fetched as there seems to be a great difference in their status and territories. The conjecture of Vincent Smith and Bennet about Dal and Bal does not stand to criticism. It is hard to imagine that any hero of a low caste like Bhar would have attained the status of " Dalaki wa Malaki " in the days when a low born man was not at all to be tolerated by the well born Rajputs who used to claim to be the descendants of ancient Kṣatriyas. From the local traditions we know that before the Rajput domination over the whole territory it was occupied by the Kiratas and Bhars and when the Rajputs established their forts these classes were reduced to utter slavery. The conquest of whole southern Oudh, ascribed by the local tradition to the Bhar heroes, fades away in the light of Kaliñjar Inscription of Virvarman and Machhlishahr Inscription of Hariścandradeva discovered in the village Kotwa, pargana Ghiswa, Tahsil Machhlishahr, district Jaunpur, U.P. Hence in the period when Smith and Bennet put Dal and Bal, Oudh was ruled by King Harischandradeva as evident from the above inscription. These Dal and Bal are unknown to history and Crooks seems to be quite justified in describing them as mythical. There can be some reliance over the conjecture of Cunningham who identifies " Dalaki wa Malaki " with the Baghela Chiefs Dalakesvara and Malakesvara.[35] In the light of the bardic traditions the probability of Baghela settlement over Bilsad may however be taken as correct. After subduing the fort Balban ravaged the territory of Bilsad and with

32. Smith, 'Contribution to the History of Bundelkhand,' J.A.S.B., p. 35, 1881.

33. Bennet, 'On the Bhar Kings of Eastern Oudh,' Ind. Ant., I, p. 205.

34. Crooks, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, II, 3, Calcutta, 1896.

35. Bardic tradition asserts that Baghela Rajputs originally settled here at Satpur, then they founded Natwara. It is possible that a branch of Baghela Rajputs would have settled over Bilsad of which Dūlakeśvara and Mālakeśvara were the chiefs. Mr. E. R. Neave, on the ground of the later settlement of the Rathor Raja of Rampur, district Etah, U.P., some five or six hundred years after this accident, says that before the Mohamedan conquest Bilsad was a seat of Rathor Rajputs; but it is a matter to think whether this proposal has got any base. Neave, E. R., District *Gazetteer of Etah*, U.P., p. 104, Allahabad, 1911.



Ruins of the flight of steps of Pratoli.



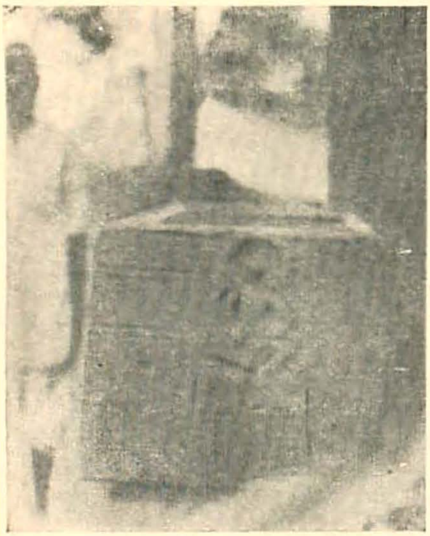
Octagonal well : inside Mauryan bricks are visible.

☆ ☆ ☆

☆

☆

☆

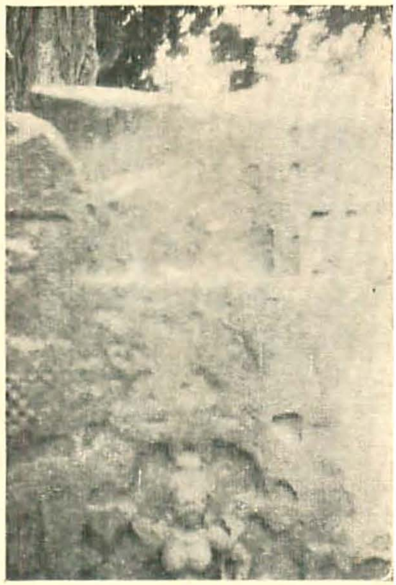


Decorated trough of chunar stone with two armed figure described as Viṣṅu by Cunningham.

☆

☆

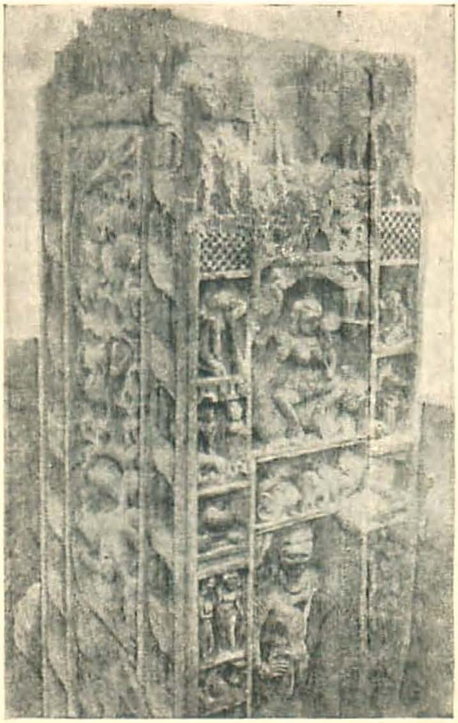
☆



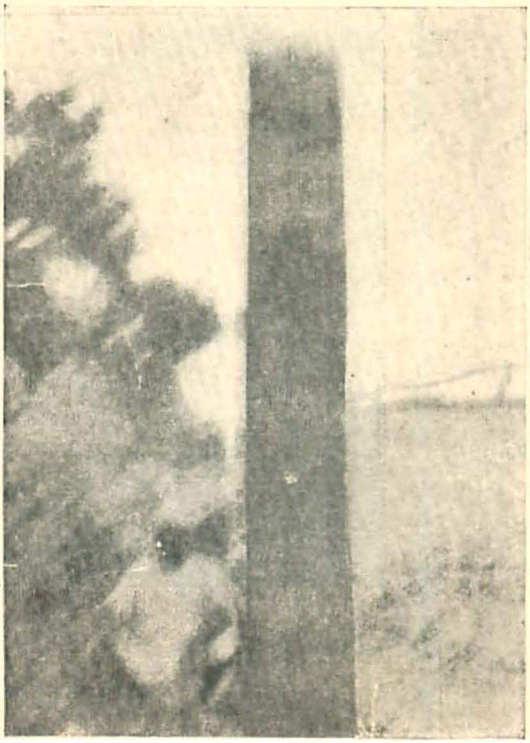
Upper Portion of another square Pillar of Pratoli.



Bust of Visnu early Gupta period.



Southern square pillar of Pratoli.



☆

Monolithic shafts of stone on which famous Bilsad Inscription of Emperor Kumargupta I is inscribed.

☆

the fall of the fort a mass massacre and looting took place. Minhaj described the riches of " Dalaki wa Malaki " that he had countless fighting men, great dominion and wealth. Balban took possession of their wives and children and secured great booty with 1500 horses of a peculiar breed.[36]

On his return journey he waited on his sovereign and all his nobles congratulated him at his victory. Minhaj has described the incident in his book named " Nasiri Nama." It is written in verse and the author was given the grant of a village near Hansi.

It is interesting to have a view of the present condition of the antiquities of Bilsad. Neave and Cunningham narrate a story of some Brahma Rākṣasa of Bilsad, the destroyer of the family of Rathor Raja who had to flee away from Bilsad and now resides at Rampur about 5 miles from the village. When General Cunningham was conducting an excavation he was also threatened by the local residents. Curiously enough the same superstitious views were noticed by me among the villagers when I went to survey and explore the site. There seems to be a tendency of the villagers to dig out ancient bricks from the mound to construct their own houses. During my survey and exploration I happened to come across more than a thousand bricks of different period, the measurement of some of them I have already given. The fort mound at one place has been dug out to the depth of 30 feet and the foundation of its octagonal gateway facing towards the temple of Svāmimahāsena is clearly visible. The fine stone trough is lying in the village from the time of Cunningham and has not yet been removed so far to the State Museum, Lucknow. However, considering the importance of the site and the material available, I deem it necessary to say that if an excavation is conducted there, it will surely add a new page to the history of our Golden Age.

---

36. Elliot, H. M., *History of India As Told By Its Own Historians*, vol. II, 348, London 1869.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE THEORY OF PRATĪTYA SAMUTPĀDA

By

HERAMBA CHATTERJEE

The four Āryasatyas of the Buddhists are dukkha (misery) Samudaya (origination of misery), nirodha (end of misery) and magga (ways and means leading to the sessation of misery). This particular teaching was meant for applying as a formula for every perceived object. In texts more than one it has been sated that the Āryasatyas should never be confused as a doctrine. Thus Prof. Stcherbatsky remarks : "These four topics—the four noble truths, as the term has been very inadequately translated and represented as a fundamental principle of Buddhism—contain in reality no doctrine at all."[1] The formula was often applied by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike for solution of higher problems. It has been mentioned by Patañjali in his Yoga-sūtra[2] (Yathā cikitsā śāstraṁ caturvyūhaṁ, rogo rogahetur ārogyaṁ bhaiṣajyam iti). In the Majjhimanikāya[3] in course of his deliberations on 'Sammādiṭṭhi', he has taken up the illustration of 'āhāra' and explained it in the light of the formula. It may be mentioned here that these four truths have been transformed into two truths as cause and effect, Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa, in the Abhidhammakoṣa.[4]

The second and third of the above-mentioned four Āryasatyas comprise what is called Pratītya Samutpāda. There are some in whose opinion this Pratītya Samutpāda is concerned with Anulomadeśanā, explained in the Budhisūttas of Udāna as 'Imasmin sati idam hoti, imassa uppādā idamupajjati'. As a metaphysical term this P.S. stands as an antethesis to Adhiccasamuppāda, which signifies that something is coming out of nothing (Puvve ahutvā ahosi). Interpreted as a cosmic law this proceeds on the assumption that the world in which we live, is without a known beginning and end (Anamadaggo bhikkhu ayam Saṁsāro puvvakoṭi na paññāyati na aparakoṭi).

It is the profoundest of all Buddhist doctrines—the doctrine of dependent origination :

> 'Gambhīro cāyaṃ Ānanda Paṭicca Samuppāda Gambhīrāvabhāṣo ca'[5] *i.e.* the conditional arising of those mental and physical phenomena generally summed up by conventional names.

P.S. shows the causes and conditions of all the evil and suffering in the world and how through the removal of these conditions, suffering may rise no more in

---

1. Conception of Nirvāṇa, p. 55.
2. II. 15.
3. p. 261. Part I.
4. VI. 4.
5. Dīghanikāya. Mahānidānasutta.

future. This shows that our present existence with all its woe and suffering is conditioned or more exactly said, caused by the life-affirming volitions or Karma in a former life and that again our future life depends on the present life-affirming volitions, that without these life-affirming volitions, no more future rebirth will take place again and that thereby deliverance will have been found from the round of rebirths from the restless cycle of Saṃsāra.

P.S. shows that the sum of mental and physical phenomena known by conventional name of person or individual is not all the mere play of blind chance, but that each phenomenon in this process of existence is entirely dependent on other phenomena as conditions and that therefore with the removal of these phenomena that form condition to rebirth and suffering, rebirth and suffering will cease to be. This is the vital point and goal of Buddha's teaching : deliverance from the cycle of rebirth. Thus the Pratītya Samutpāda serves in the elucidation of the second and third noble truth about the extinction and origin of suffering by explaining these two truths, from their very foundation upwards and giving them a fixed philosophical form.

The Hīnayānists have, by the application of this formula, proved the unsubstantiality of constituted (Saṁskṛta) things, as these things have preceding cause and conditions.

The Mahāyānists, on the other hand, have utilised this formula to prove that being relatively existent, the world is unreal like the objects seen in a state of dream. The formula has been explained by them as a key to eternal truth in as much as it explains ' the fixed unchangeable and this conditioned (idappaccayatā) nature of things'. Reality is seen at the moment in which the truth of the formula is realised. For the importance of this formula the Buddhist thinkers have unanimously opined that one who realises the cause of origination of things, sees Truth, and one who sees truth sees Buddha : ' Yaḥ Pratītya Samutpādaṁ paśyati sa dharmaṁ paśyati, yo dharmaṁ paśyati sa Buddham Paśyati,'[6] Nāgārjuna in his Mādhyamikā vṛtti went so far as to identify this P.S. with Śūnyatā : ' yaḥ Pratītya samutpādaḥ Śūnyatāṁ taṁ pracakṣate '.[7] The Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists alike have explained this formula. No disagreement of any kind existed with reference to the fact that Lord Buddha preached the Āryasatyas and the Pratītya Samutpāda.[8] Against the supposed contradiction as to how there can be any treatment of truth and causal law by those who think of this world as a delusion of mind, Nāgārjuna in his Mādhyamikāvṛtti has devoted two chapters[9] and has arrived at the conclusion

6. Saṁyutta, III, p. 120.
7. M. Vṛtti. p. 503, 542.
8. Vide Laṅkāvatāra, p. 96.
9. Chap. I and XXIV.

that in the absence of Truths and causal laws there would have been no Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha :

Abhāvāccārya satyānāṁ Saddharmo na bhaviṣyati.
Dharme cāsati saṁghe ca kathaṁ Buddho bhaviṣyati.

It may be noted here that the law of causation has been relegated by the Mahāyānists to the domain of convention. ' In short the Mahāyānists hold that the four truths and the causal law are the preparatory steps indispensable to the realisation of the absolute truth. Their doctrines exist to lead the ignorant beings from ignorance to knowledge, from darkness to light and this is effected by and through the Āryasatyas and the Pratītya Samutpāda'.

This formula has often been linked up with the causal law of the Sāṁkhya system of Hindu Philosophy and thereby attempts have been made to find out from this formula Buddha's theory of the origin of a being. Avijjā has been termed as the first link of the chain. But a study of Buddhaghoṣa shows that Avijjā need not necessarily be the first link in the chain of causation and it was one of the terms found suitable by the author of the formula to begin the chain. It could as well be commenced by Bhāvataṇhā.[10] Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt in his ' Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism' has remarked, "Hence we see that the Pratītya Samutpāda is not meant to be an explanation of the origin of the world but just a chain of instances to illustrate the law of idapaccayatā (this conditioned nature *i.e.* dependent origination) of things......we may therefore say that the twelve-linked P.S. like the Āryasatyas is more a general principle than a doctrine peculiar to Buddhism."[11]

There are twelve links of Pratītya Samutpāda as well as its 11 propositions. They are :

. Avijjāpaccayā Saṁkhāra—*i.e.* Through ignorance are conditioned the Saṅkhāras *i.e.* the rebirth producing volition or Karma formations.

Saṁkhārapaccayā Viññānam *i.e.* through Saṅkhāras arises Viññāna or perception. The Saṁkhāra leads to the appearance of Patisandhi Viññāna and the other Viññānas immediately succeeding it and it is around this Viññāna that the other four Khandas cluster, forming a complete being with mind and matter.

Viññāna paccayā nāmarūpam—Nāma i.e. mind and matter arise out of Viññāna.

Nāmarūpapaccayā Saḷāyatanam—From mind and matter arise the six sense-organs.

Saḷāyatanapaccayā phasso—Contact arises out of six sense-organs. Phasso appears as a result of the āyatanas taking their own course of evolution (Sakasantati pariyāpannam).

10. Viśuddhimagga, p. 525.
11. p. 209.

Phassopaccayā vedanā—Feeling comes out of contact and there are as many feelings as there are doors i.e. sense-organs.

Vedanāpaccayā taṇhā—Desire arises out of feelings and six objects of the sense-organs.

Taṇhāpaccayā upādānam—Desire leads to upādāna (strong attachment).

Upādānapaccayā bhāvo—From attachment arises the desire for existence.

Bhāvapaccayā jāti—From the desire for existence comes birth.

Jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇa—soka-parideva—dukkha—domanassa—*i.e.* Disease, death, sorrow and etc. aise out of birth.

There are twenty-four relations illustrated in the Paṭṭhāna and they are hetu (root cause), ārammana (basis), anantara (immediate cause), samanantara (concomitant cause) and etc. It is intended that any two links are related to each other in one or more of the twenty-four ways (paccayas) for which the usual general expression is ' this being so, that happens '—' imasmin sati idaṁ hoti '. The law under question implies that any two links should be taken out for consideration for realising the idappaccayatā of worldly things.

It is rather interesting for the Mahāyānists that they highly estimated the causal formula but less interests was shown by them in respect to the links, perhaps for the reason that their tenet was Dharmaśūnyatā *i.e.* worldly non-existence.

Candakīrti in explaining the doctrine of dependent origination as described by Nāgārjuna, starts with two interpretations of the word. According to one, the word P.S. means the origination (utpāda) of the non-existence (abhāva) depending on (pratītya) reasons and causes (hetupratyayā) : " Pratītya śabdo'tra lyabantaḥ prāptāvapekṣāyāṃ vartate. Samutpūrvaḥ padiḥ prādurbhāvārthaḥ, Samutpādaśabdaḥ, prādurbhāve vartate. Tatatśca hetu pratyayāpekṣā bhāvānāmutpādaḥ Pratītyasamutpādārthaḥ."

According to other interpretation, ' pratītya ' means each and every destructible individual and P.S. means the origination of each and every distructible individual :—

' Itirgati gamnāni vināśaḥ, itau sādhvaḥ ityaḥ: Pratirvīpsārthaḥ; ityevaṁ taddhitāntaṁ ityaśavdaṁ vyut-pādya prati Prati ityānāṁ vināśināṁ samutpādaḥ Pratītya Samutpādaḥ iti varṇayanti '.

He disapproves of both these meanings. The second meaning does not suit the context in which the Pāli Scriptures generally speak of P.S. (*e.g.* cakṣḥ pratītya rupani ca utpadyante cakṣurvijñānam) for it does not mean the origination of each and every destructible individual but the originating of specific individual phenomenon (*i.e.* perception of form by the operation in connection with the eye) depending upon certain specific conditions.

The first meaning also is equally unsuitable. Thus, for example, if we take the case of any origination *e.g.*—that of visual percept, we see that there cannot be any contact between visual knowledge and physical sense, the eye and so it would not be intelligible that the former should depend on the latter. If we interpret the maxim of P.S. as this happening that happens (Asmin satīdaṁ bhavati) that would not explain any specific origination and virtually all origination is false, for a thing can neither originate by itself, nor by others nor by a co-operation of both nor without any reason.

Buddhaghoṣa observes that by Samuppāda is not meant origin (uppāda) pure and simple. It is not also the doctrine of nothingness (nātthitā). It negatives the doctrines of Śāśśata and Uccheda. By the word 'Paticca' is meant that a thing originates not by itself (ekato) nor without a cause (nāpi ahetuto) ; it originates by depending on certain other things (paccayasāmaggiṁ paticca) as a fruition (p hala vohārena). By the compound word 'paticcasamuppāda' is meant that a cause leads to an effect (patimukhaṁ ito—gato) unalterably and the cause and effect are not separable from each other ; cause and effect are mutually dependent and which mutual dependence is unalterably fixed.

THE NAṬARĀJA THEME: A NEW INTERPRETATION

By

JOSÉ PEREIRA

Religious art, the extension of theology into the life of the people, has a development parallel to that of theology. As theology codifies the imprecise and confused beliefs of early religion into a system of principles and conclusions, so art reduces the exhuberance and unrelatedness of the themes of early religious art to a plastic codification that has its written counterpart in iconography. The Naṭarāja theme, one of the great themes of Indian sculpture undergoes this transformation.

Two traditions may be distinguished in the plastic representation of the Naṭarāja. The first begins with the earliest Deccan examples and culminates in the Naṭarāja of Elephanta. The second continues the tradition of Elephanta, and ends with the last examples of South Indian Naṭarāja bronzes. We have a third tradition represented by the Eastern and Northern Indian schools of sculpture. The examples of this tradition are less important in the history of Indian art than those of the former two, and could advantage be discussed separately.[1]

The interpretation of the ideas behind this great theme is extremely important, for it was from this theme that the plastic form of the Naṭarāja originated. Coomaraswamy's attempt to interpret them is extremely one-sided, because he takes only the South Indian Naṭarāja into consideration. It is strange that scholars do not seem to have noticed that his theories do not apply to the Naṭarāja of the Deccan, well-known as its examples are. In criticising Coomaraswamy's theory we shall at the same time explain the ideas fundamental to the understanding of an alternative theory that will attempt to comprehend the two distinct traditions.

I

Coomaraswamy, in his book, *The Dance of Shiva*, summarises his interpretation in these words: "The Essential Significance of Shiva's Dance is threefold

1. R. P. Chanda's book, *Mediæval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum* contains an illustration (pl. 23) of a figure of the Naṭarāja, which he thinks is from Bhuvanesvara. It is similar in pose to the sculpture of the Ramesvara cave, except that the attitude is reversed, and the left hand is across the chest—as in the South Indian bronzes—and that he holds a serpent—extending right across the relief—in one of his right and left hands. The Eastern school of sculpture, which this sculpture exemplifies, usually represents the Naṭarāja dancing on a bull, with an elephant hide, according to *Matsya Purāṇa*, 259, vv. 10-11:

वैशाखस्थानकंकृत्वा नृत्याभिनयसंस्थित: ।
नृत्यन् दशभुज : कार्यो गजचर्मधरस्तथा ।।

and his *membrum virile* erect (cf. Banerji, *Eastern School of Mediæval Sculpture*, pl. 52, figs. a and c, in *Archæological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, vol. 47, 1933).

First it is the image of his Rhythmic Play as the Source of all Movement within the Cosmos, which is represented by the Arch : Secondly, the purpose of his Dance, is the Release of Countless souls of men from the Snare of Illusion : Thirdly, the Place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the Centre of the Universe, is within the Heart."[2] This is further summarised by Coomaraswamy in a sentence used by him in the beginning of the chapter : " Whatever the origins of Shiva's dance, it became in time the clearest image of the *activity* of God which any art or religion can boast of." We shall explain the particulars of this theory, as we examine it in the following paragraphs.

The " content " of a work of art can be considered as doctrine, or as material that can be given a plastic shape, "plasticable", if we may use the word. Though our primary consideration is the intrinsic *plasticability*, or potential plasticity of the Naṭarāja theme, an examination of actual plastic representations is necessary in so far as it may help us to visualise this potential plasticity more clearly.

Coomaraswamy is not concerned with either the potential plasticity or actual plastic representations, but proceeds to analyse the doctrinal implications of the Naṭarāja theme, " to translate the central thought of the conception of Shiva's dance from plastic to verbal expression, without reference to the beauty or imperfection of individual works."[3]

If it is true that the ' divine dance ' of Śiva is the clearest image of ' divine activity ', it must follow that ' dance as such ' be the clearest image of ' activity as such '. Now there can be two kinds of images or representations. One is the *natural* image, or representation. On looking at a representation of a suffering man, one clearly gets the notion of suffering. No such clear notion of activity as such is formed on looking at a representation of a dance. The dance is clearly just *one* particular kind of activity. Representations can also be *artificial* or symbolic, like language, script, or ritual. The dance is a representation of this kind, and has to be learnt as one learns a language.[4]

---

2. Coomaraswamy, *Dance of Shiva*, chapter of the same name, p. 93. All our subsequent quotations are from th same chapter.

3. *Ibid.*

4. John of St. Thomas, one of the most powerful philosophical minds of modern times, defines a symbol : " Signum est id quod repraesentat aliud a se potentiæ cognoscenti " (*Logica*, II Pars, quaestio 21, art. 1) " A symbol is that which represents something other than itself to a knowing faculty." With his usual brilliance of precision he distinguishes the image (our natural representation) from the symbol (artificial representation) : "The distinctive significance (*ratio*) of the image therefore consists in that it proceeds from another as from a principle, and in its similitude, as St. Thomas teaches, I P., q. 35 and q. 113, and that in this manner it be its imitation, being possibly so perfectly similar to its principle, as to be of the same nature with it......The distinctive significance of the sign, however, does not consist in proceeding from another in its similitude, but in being the means of leading it to the faculty, and substituting for it in the act of representing, as something more imperfect than it and dissimilar." (*Logica*, II p. q. 21, a 6).

Symbolisation in the dance is possible through signs termed as the *āṅgika vāchika* and *āhārya* by the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*,[5] as also through the *sattvikābhinaya*. or natural signs. Symbols may also be distinguished into two kinds. One kind is when the symbol has "sensible" similarities with the symbolised, using the word "sensible" in its original sense, as "something that can be sensed." All similies and metaphors are of this group of symbols, which are the clearest, because of their sensible character.

The second kind of symbol or symbol, in its strict sense, is something that has a kind of "abstract" similarity with the symbolised (often, no similarity of any kind whatsoever), as for example a circle or an intricate cryptic diagram, the circle symbolising say, the eternity of God, and the diagram His incomprehensibility. This kind of symbol is less clear because less sensible.

The dance of Śiva, according to Coomaraswamy, represents the five activities of Śiva, the *Pañchakriyā*: Creation or Evolution, Preservation, Destruction, Illusion and Release. Now the dance has clearly no sensible or metaphorical similarities with these highly abstract metaphysical notions. If their symbolisation is possible through the dance, it can only be so through the four *abhinayas*. The first three, the *āṅgika*, *vāchika* and *āhārya* are in the dance used to express many sentiments nationally at variance with the *Panchakriyā*, sentiments like *sṛngāra*, *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *vīra*, *raudra*, etc. One indication of the sensible similarity that a symbol has to an action is that such a symbol is accepted by cultures either independent of, or distinct from each other; for example, the association of light with the idea of God, or of the face of a woman with the moon. But no known culture other than that which gave birth to the Bharata Nāṭya ever associates these dance poses with divine actions. The *sāttvikābhinaya* cannot by far be associated with the *Pañchakriyā*, as the mere mention of these *sāttvika* emotions will show.

सात्त्विक: सात्त्विकैर्भावैर्भावज्ञेन विभावित: ॥
स्तम्भ: स्वेदाम्बु रोमाञ्च: स्वरभङ्गोऽथ वेपथु: ॥
वैवर्ण्यमश्रु प्रलय इत्यष्टौ सात्त्विका: स्मृता: ॥[6]

The Naṭarāja of Coomaraswamy's interpretation is therefore hardly a clear image, Coomaraswamy further asserts that it is the clearest image of divine activity that any religion can boast of. Now this depends on the acceptance of philosophical principles peculiar to Śaivism. Other religions would perhaps consider the figure of a dancing god least apt for expressing the majesty of divine activity. From other religious view points a far greater change is posited in God than is necessary for us (who cannot conceive an action without conceiving some sort of change) to understand Creation. There is another postulate behind Coomaraswamy's assertion that is also peculiar to Śaivism, that is, that creative activity is rhythmic. "His

5. Nandikeśvara, *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, v. 38. *Calcutta Sanskrit Series (CSS)*, no. 5, p. 5.
6. *Ibid.*, vv. 40b-41. *CSS*, p. 6.

Rhythmic Play" that is "the Source of all Movement within the Cosmos."[7] Rhythm is a harmonious ordering of a multiplicity of things in motion; it requires a multiplicity of intermediates between cause and effect. In the *creatio ex nihilo* on the other hand there is no mediate entity between the action of God and the creature.[8]

Now we come to a point that Coomaraswamy expressly asserted as being beyond his scope,—that of the analysis of either the plasticability of the theme or of the actual plastic representations. In relation to this point we may ask a double question; the first is: How far did the South Indian Naṭarāja actualize the plasticability offered in the theme? The second is: is the South Indian Naṭarāja an integral plastic form, even though it may not have derived plastic inspiration from the theme? Our insistence on the South Indian Naṭarāja is because Coomaraswamy himself insisted on it. He says "this dance of Shiva in Chidambaram or Tillai forms the motif of the South Indian copper images of Shri Naṭarāja, the Lord of the Dance, it will be necessary to describe the image of Shri Naṭarāja as *typically represented* [italics ours]."[9]

In reply to the first question we say that if the Naṭarāja theme has the plasticability that Coomaraswamy's theory seems to affirm of it, it really has no plasticability at all. But the plasticability, which is undoubtedly there, was ignored by Coomaraswamy, through his self-confessed lack of interest.

To the second question we say that the conditions for plastic unity (which we believe the South Indian Naṭarāja lacks) in sculpture, are not the same as in painting. The points of similarity in both are that the ground for spatial unity is supplied by the materi al in which the work is executed. As opposed to the space supplied by the material, is the empty space that surrounds the material. The points of difference are the following: in a picture, it is the *two-dimensional plane* that supplies the ground or framework for spatial unity, with the empty space before or around the picture. The space that constitutes the figures or objects in the picture is the same as that which constitutes its background. The same is the case with bas-relief. In sculpture in the round, however, the background is not the same space out of which the figure is constituted, but the empty space that surrounds the figure. The space that constitutes the figure does not therefore form a

7. *Dance of Shiva*, p. 93.

8. Rhythm also requires harmonious vibrations and movement; the static is its very negation. Jayatīrtha, in his *Nyāyasudhā*, however, states that there can be static actions in God, as there is no proof that actions in God must be of a vibratory nature (*parispanda*): न केवलमीश्वरः स्थिरः अपि तु स तदियविशेषधर्मोऽपि क्रियारूपः स्थिरः । He goes on to say that it is *possible* to posit vibratory actions in God, though not *necessary*. (Cf. Dasgupta, *Hist. of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 4, p. 132, note 8).

9. *Dance of Shiva*, p. 86. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 224-231, contains an iconographical description of this dance, mosly a description of the various ments of the dancing figure.

continuum with the background; it stops abruptly on encountering it, coming into contact with something it cannot control. In a painting and in a bas-relief, the artist can control the background, can mould it as he wishes, into an nfinite number of gradations and modulations, while this cannot be done in sculpture in the round; the sculptor's control over space is *negative*. He can only prevent the space from breaking in upon his continuum, and this he does, *not* by working upon the empty space, but *upon the object*; in simpler words, he endeavours to diminish any disproportionate number of " holes " or " gulfs " in the continuum of his space, and between the component parts of his object. In the Tamilian Naṭarāja, the component parts have a strong tendency to move away from the centre, like the spokes of a wheel, enclosing vast gulfs of empty space in the process, with the result that the eye has to attempt to suppress the hollow empty spaces violently, in its efforts to perceive the whole. This disrupting formal explosion of serpentine centrifugal forms in the South Indian Naṭarāja is sought to be controlled by the *prabhāvalī* or *tiruvasi*, which along with the thin thread-like wisps of the scarf creates the silhouette effect of a shadow-play, where the roundness of forms is not taken into consideration, but is considered a disadvantage. In our view, the image workers of South India merely transferred the Naṭarāja of the bas-reliefs to sculpture in the round, with modifications. They might have done this because of the traditional sanctity associated with bas-relief forms, but in so doing they evinced a lack of knowledge of the plastic exigencies of sculpture in the round. There is in the figure a lack of balance, besides. The right side of the figure has four limbs—three hands and a foot—counterbalancing the slender solitary hand on the other side. This hand makes an unavoidably sharp and ugly angle, in contrast to the angles of the other side, which are rounded. The figure is so devoid of movement, that, if we may be allowed to use the simile, it appears like an adroit acrobat assiduously balancing himself on one foot upon a rope. In some of the extremely bad examples, the total impression of the central figure tied by many devices to the *prabhāvalī*, is that of a strange animal caught within a snare.

Thus, we believe, Coomaraswamy's theory is in no way tenable. Coomaraswamy does not seem to have cared very much for the Naṭarāja of Deccan sculpture, so much so that he does not appear to have even looked at the examples of it he describes, carefully enough. He says " The second well-known dance of Shiva is called the *Tandava*, and belongs to His *tamasic* aspect as Bhairava and Virabhadra. It is performed in cemeteries and burning grounds, where Shiva, usually in ten-armed form, dances wildly with Devi, accompanied by troops of capering imps· Representations of this dance are common among ancient sculptures, as at Elura, Elephanta, and also Bhuvaneshvara."[10] Nowhere in the sculptures of Elephanta and the four well-known Naṭarāja panels of the Lankesvara, Ravana-ka-kai, Ramesvara and Dasavatara caves at Ellora do we notice any indications of " cemeteries ", " burning grounds " or " capering imps."

10. *Dance of Shiva*, p. 84.

II

Coomaraswamy's theory therefore, is neither tenable in itself, nor explanatory of the South Indian Naṭarāja on which it apparently bases itself. In presenting an alternative theory that will attempt to explain the Deccan and Tamilian traditions, we must first state the different versions of the Naṭarāja story as they are found in there traditions. The summary of the Tamilian story as found in the *Koyil Puranam* is given by Coomaraswamy, which we quote in his own words : " In the forest of Taragam dwelt multitudes of heretic rishis, following of the Mimamsa. Thither proceeded Shiva to confute them, accompanied by Vishnu disguised as a beautiful woman, and Ati-Sheshan. The rishis were at first led to violent dispute amongst themselves, but their anger was soon directed against Shiva and they endeavoured to destroy Him by means of incantations. A fierce tiger was created in sacrificial fires, and rushed upon Him ; but smiling gently, He seized it and, with the nail of His litle finger, stripped off its skin, and wrapped it about Himself like a silken cloth. Undiscouraged by failure, the sages renewed their offerings, and produced a monstrous serpent, which however, Shiva seized and wreathed about His neck liko a garland. Then he began to dance ; but there rushed upon Him a last monster in shape of a malignant dwarf, Muyalaka. Upon him the God pressed the tip of His foot, and broke the creature's back, so that it writhed upon the ground ; and uo, His last foe prostrate, Shiva resumed the dance, witnessed by gods and rishis.

Then Ati-Shesan worshipped Shiva, and prayed above all things for the boon once more to behold this mystic dance ; Shiva promised that he should behold the dance again in sacred Tillai, the centre of the Universe."[11]

The Sanskrit Purāṇas, however, give a different version. According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*,[12] Siva and the gods danced together to please Pārvatī, whilst the denizens of the three worlds—*ṛishis, gandharvas, siddhas, yakshas, piśāchas* and the rest,—the attendants of Pārvatī and the musical modes, looked on. Here Śiva's dance is clearly thought of as a *heavenly* spectacle. Śiva is in the above-mentioned Pauranic account called the *mahānaṭavapurdhara*, an appellation also found in the inscription of Ablur, *ratikaṭa tasya-śaituṣaveṣam*, who wearsthe garb of an actor. in the *tasya* dance. The *Śiva Purāṇa*[14] also views Śiva's dance as a spectacle Śiva comes disguised as an actor to Pārvatī's house, when she and her father have gone to the Ganges to bathe. He dances before Menakā, and during the dance a fascinated crowd collects. Menakā offers Śiva jewels, which he refuses, and asks for Pārvatī instead, as a reward. Menakā gets angry, and so does Himāch ala when he returns, and they ask Śiva to get out. Then Śiva reveals himself in the *Brāhma*

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
12. *Skanda Purāṇa*, bk. 6 (Nāgara Khaṇḍa), ch. 254.
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, Inscription of Ablur, line 81, p. 251.
14. *Śiva Purāṇa*, 3, 34.

Vaiṣṇava and *Raudra* forms and convinces Himāchala of his identity. This time Śiva's dance is viewed as an *earthly* spectacle, but a spectacle all the same.

The common element in the two traditions is that they both deal with some aspect of Śiva's activity. Every entity or action has an universal and individual character. Its individual character implies that it is entitatively incommunicable. Its universal character, that there can be another entity like it, possibly not lacking anything to distinguish it from this similar entity except individuality. This other entity is independent of the first both as regards existence and significance. Thus if divine killing of demons is the universal characteristic, the killing of Andhaka and Gajāsura, or of Muyalaka of the *Koyil Puranam* story may be individual actions partaking of this chacteristic; and each of these is independent of the other for its existence or meaning. These kinds of action are *irrepeatable*, for the very essence of each consists in its individuality.

There is a second class of actions that may be denominated as imitative and dependent, not for existence, but for significance. These actions have as their *end* the imitation of individual actions, like the killing of Andhaka, from which event they derive their significance; but the *means* need not be any particular individual ideas or objects. In other words these means prescind or abstract from individuality for the conveying of their significance. Drama falls within this group of actions, and so does dance usually, when considered as a spectacle. For a drama to convey its meaning no definitely individual actors are needed andno fixed aesthetic principles. Any actor will do, provided he is competent. These actions are therefore *repeatable*, for individuality as such is no constituent of their intrinsic significance.

This helps us to outline the generic solution to our problem. It is this: *the Tamilian tradition concerns itself with the Natarājā as an irrepeatable event in Śiva's life. The Deccan tradition, on the other hand is concerned with the dance of Śiva as a spectacle, that is as a repeatable action is Śiva's life, an event that can be made present to gods and men at any time, without losing its intrinsic significance.*

It may be asked here why it was that the Deccan sculptors were almost exclusively interested in the *repeatable* aspect of Śiva's dance. One answer could be given that these sculptors followed the Sanskrit account and not the Tamilian, But this reply is unsatisfactory. First, because the Deccan sculptors knew of the Tamilian tradition. In Pattadakal, in the temple of Virūpāksha, which was the model for the Kailasa temple at Ellora, we find the two distinct types existing almost side by side.[15] We find a Tamilian form at Ellora itself.[16] The four cave-temples

15. For illustrations see *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. 4, The Chalukyan Architecture of Canarese Districts, pl. 38, figs. 1 and 2; pl. 30, fig. 4; pl. 42, fig. to the extreme right; pl. 44, fig. 1; and pl. 47, figs. 2 and 10; all from the Virūpāksha temple, except fig. 1, pl. 39, which is f om the Mallikarjuna temple.

16. Illustrations in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XVI, 1/2, H. Goetz, "The Kailasa at Ellora, and the

of Ellora we mentioned above, all contain on the other hand the distinctively Deccan form, and at Elephanta, the Tamilian form is totally non-existent. Second, if they did not know of the Tamilian tradition, a myth of the irrepeatable type could easily be invented. Another answer, more decisive, would be that the Deccan sculptors found in their own tradition a fascination they did not find in the other, and the same is true of the Tamilian sculptors.

Did these traditions exist independently, develop independently, or grow out of each other? In clarifying this issue we must first make the state of the question clear.

In the rock-temples of the Deccan, particularly at the Kailasa of Ellora, we notice that the panel of the Bhairava is placed opposite to that of the Mahāyogi. In Elephanta the Bhairava is substituted by the Naṭarāja , and the Andhakāsuravadha (a form of the Bhairava), is pushed inside the temple. We must note that it is the Naṭarāja that has been substituted, and not the Gaṅgādhara or the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti. The artist therefore, as a man of religion, must have found some doctrinal similarity (whether directly or indirectly, we shall find out later) in the substitution; and as an artist, must have also sensed a plastic advantage. The Naṭarāja is a more comprehensive treatment of the ideas it has in common with the Bhairava. The probability that this may be the reason for substitution in our case is attenuated by the fact that the development of a theme from the less to the more comprehensive is found in other religious traditions, as for example, in the Byzantine.[17] The theme of the "Pantocrator" which replaces the theme of the "Ascension" in the domes of Byzantine churches is a more comprehensive presentation of the idea of the glory of Christ, which both themes endeavour to convey. The Pantocrator attempts to convey the eternal aspect of the theme, whilst the Ascension, its historical aspect. In the art of Western Europe too, we find that the "Pietá" is a more summary treatment of the ideas common to itself and the theme of the "Descent from the Cross." Now, how is the Naṭarāja a more comprehensive presentation of the Bhairava theme?

Whatever the esoteric significance of the opposition of the Bhairava and Mahāyogi themes, the most obvious *plastic* qualities that characterise this opposition consist in the Mahāyogi theme evoking the ideas of undisturbed calm, and the Bhairava theme, those of a strong and ferocious activity. "In India," in Zimmers words "the dance flourished side by side with the terrific austerities of the meditation grove—fasting, breathing, exercises, absolute introversion."[18] It is possible to heighten the contrast by making the action extraordinarily violent and gruesome, and aligning it with characters that cannot by any reach of imagination be associated

Chronology of Rastrakuta Arts," figs. 12 and 18, showing the Naṭarājas of the Deccan tradition. and fig. 4, showing one of the Tamilian Naṭarājas.

17. Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 19-21.

18. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 151.

with contemplation—demons, dwarfs, goblins, and such like grotestque creatures. The Bhairava, is, therefore, the clearest *natural* representation of a figure in action.

The Naṭarāja also conveys this action, but in a different manner. The dance is a symbolic representation of activity, as we have seen. In India, the dance has a sacred *ritual* character in addition to this. Ritualism is invariably a later development in the history of religions. It rises out of the inability of man to represent certain ideas, specially those that are abstract and cosmic, by natural images or symbols. Ritual is one of these types of symbol. The Naṭarāja is therefore the formulation through ritualistic symbols of the theme that the Bhairava depicts through the clearest possible natural ones—the theme of Śiva's activity.

We therefore, in this sense agree with Coomaraswamy that the Naṭarāja is the symbol of Śiva's activity. But we do not agree that it is the clearest image of divine activity, as also that this activity is *cosmic*. The Śaiva artists never depicted Śiva as engaged in any cosmic action, that is, besides other things, as creating, sustaining, or destroying the universe. They depicted him in his *cosmic mythical* achievements.[19] These, no doubt, are often excellent foundation for a cosmic interpretation, but in the Pauranic accounts are just particular acosmic mythical episodes. In the Gaṅgādhara episode, for example, Śiva consents to bear the weight of the Gaṅgā, so that she may come down to cleanse the sins, not of all men, but primarily of the Sāgaras. The Naṭarāja is therefore the ritual formulation of Śiva's acosmic actions. Coomaraswamy himself acknowledges the difference between the mythical and cosmic, for he says that the version of the Naṭarāja story which he gives (and which is mythical) has " after all no very close connection with the real meaning of the dance " (which in his interpretation is cosmic).[20]

It cannot be said that the artist came to prefer the ritual to the natural version because he was a theologian educated in the Veda and Vedānta, and that he was reasoning explicitly that the ritual representation was more comprehensive than the natural. It is not certain that there are texts in the Śilpaśāstras prescribing the substitution. That the artist saw greater plastic possibilities in the Naṭarāja is no reason for the *substitution*. The artist could have fully exploited these greater plastic possibilities in another part of the temple, while still allowing the Bhairava to remain opposite the Mahāyogi.

---

19. There are, however, some passages that represent the Naṭarāja as dancing *after* a cosmic act like the universal *pralaya (pralayānte)*

पादतलाहतिपातितशैलं ।
क्षोभितभूतसमग्रसमुद्रम् ॥
ताण्डवनृत्तमिदं प्रलयान्ते ।
पातु जगत्सुखदायि हरस्य ॥

Nāṭya Śāstra ch. 5, v. 132. *GOS* vol. 1, p. 243.

20. *Dance of Śhiva*, p. 85.

We must first explain what the word "actor" means in Indian thought before we attempt a solution. "Actor" in Sanskrit primarily means *dancer.* Dramatic reproduction of a mythical or historical action was to the Brāhmaṇas essentially a symbolic ritualistic representation. Many other ritualistic religions, too, have this concept of a play. Gilbert Murray shows how the art of Tragedy is in its origin a ritual dance, a *sacer ludus.* It was originally the representation of the historical reason of some current ritual practice, as for example, of the dance of Dionysus.[21]

Dramatic representation of events, symbolic or otherwise, springs from a deep-seated need in human nature : the need of having the events it considers as significant, present to itself. The emotional intensity the drama excites, and the profound influence it has on the lives of the people, leads to its gradual divinization and investment with the personality of a deity.

The *Nāṭya Śāstra* speaks of plays performed in heaven. One of these is a reproduction, through dance forms, of the Tripuradāha.[22] It is not Śiva that dances the drama, but an actor impersonating Śiva.

The next step is the identification of the actor and Śiva. Śiva becomes the *mahānaṭavapurdhara.* The *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* speaks of Śiva instituting the dance after remembering his own majestic performance, causing it thereafter to be taught to Bharata.

प्रयोगमुद्धतं स्मृत्वा स्वप्रयुक्तं ततो हरः ।
तण्डुना स्वगणाग्रण्या भरताय न्यदीदिशत् ।। [23]

His dance is not only repeatable at any given moment, but is one continuous action :

सोऽहं प्रेरयिता देवः परमानन्दमाश्रितः ।
नृत्यामि योगी सततं यस्तद्वेद स योगवित् ।। [24]

In this identificatory stage we can distinguish the two aspects or purposes of the dance : that of giving aesthetic pleasure, and of symbolically reproducing an event. In the first aspect it is merely an artistic spectacle, as the gods say to Brahmā :

क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं स यद्भवेत् ।। [25]

In the second it is a method of instruction, a way of knowing the revelation, a Veda :

न वेद व्यवहारोऽयं संश्राव्यः शूद्रजातिषु ।
तस्मात्सृजापरं वेदं पञ्चमं सार्ववर्णिकम् ।। [26]

21. Gilbert Murray, "Excursus on the ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy," in J. E. Harrison's *Themis*, pp. 341-365.

22. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, ch. 4, v. 10, *GOS*, p. 88.

23. *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, vv. 3b-4a, *CSS*, p. 1.

24. *Kūrma Purāṇa* 2, 4, 33. Coomaraswamy is conscious of the Naṭarāja theme as a spectacle as well ; he calls it the evening dance of Śiva in the Himalayas, and quotes the *Śhiva Pradosha Stotra* in illustration (p. 84).

25. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, ch. 1, v. 11a, *GOS*, p. 9.

26. *Ibid.*, v. 12, *GOS*, p. 11.

We must here distinguish the purpose of the work from the purpose of the worker. The purpose of the work is the purpose that the work exists *per se* to fulfil, and the purpose of the worker either this or any concomitant purpose that is accidental to the work. Thus the dance is *per se* intended to convey a message *Per accidens* it may be intended to excite æsthetic pleasure. In the latter case while the conveying of the message is not neglected, the dancer may lay a far greater stress on the æsthetic character of the dance, and it is even possible that the æsthetic aspect be treated as primary and the doctrinal as secondary. The frustration of the primary purpose is thus dependent on the worker,—an actor, in our case.

Situation, among other things, can determie what the primary purpose of the action is; to be more precise, what the worker intends as its primary purpose, In the Naṭarāja of Elephanta it is its context that we have just discussed that gives it the accent on doctrinal significance. It is therefore *a representation of Śiva's dance as ritually summing up his mythical activity* qua *ritual summing up*, The Naṭarāja of Ellora and most other palaces does not have this doctrinal context, and are therefore the *representation of the ritual summing up* qua *spectacle*, that is with primary insistence on the æsthetic spectacular aspect. This does not mean to say that the artist of Elephanta is less concerned than the artist of Ellora about the æsthetic and formal character of his *sculpture*, he is perhaps even more concerned; it means to say that the *content* of one is primarily doctrinal, while that of the other primarily spectacular and æsthetic.

The Deccan and Tamilian forms of the Naṭarāja developed due to the plasticability offered by the dance element in both the versions, in the sinuous beauty of curved lines, and the undulating gradations of tonal surfaces. This plasticability was actualised into an integral plastic form by the sculptors of the Deccan, while the Tamilians failed to actualise it for the reasons we have given above. They were supremely successful in the theme of the Gajāsuravadha, however. The gulfs in their treatment of the Naṭarāja are here filled up by the encircling halo of the elephant's hide—the plastic use of which could only have been the invention of a genius—which helps to bind the planes of the dancing figure together. The transition of the theme of the Naṭarāja-spectacle to that of the Naṭarāja-summing-up was effected by the sculptors of the Deccan when a traditional familiarity with the theme had long been established. This ritual treatment developed out of a treatment of an irrepeatable action of Śiva's life, but this was not the Koyil Puranam event, but that of the Bhairava. The Deccan Naṭarāja therefore, develops independently of the Tamilian.

It seems to us that the solution to the question of the substitution of the Naṭarāja for the Bhairava lies in the influence of religious theatre. The period of the Śaiva cave temples synchronised with a great period in dancing. The sculptors of the Deccan possessed an intimate knowledge of the dance, as their mastery in

depicting dance poses shows.[27] Before being inspired by theatrical representations, the artist was almost entirely inspired by Pauranic accounts. An event pictured in the imagination is different from the same event as staged in a theatre. The limitations of the stage considerably influence the movements and placement of the figures. Heaven, for instance, can be imagined with heavenly beings on clouds; on a stage there can be no clouds, only a decorated scaffolding. The restricted area of a stage, and its usually flat surface tends to dispose the figures in *tableaux vivant* groups, with a close knit action resulting, opposed to the freer loose action that occurs in a non-theatrical setting. Now the old Śaiva drama was chiefly a dance drama, representing the different exploits of Śiva. It was, in short, a ritual representation of Śiva's actions. The artist now depicted the Bhairava, not as he had imagined him on hearing the account of the Puranas, but as he had seen him represented on the stage.[28] It was the theatre, therefore that showed him the possibility of a substitution.

Here again, ritual substitution under the influence of religious ritual and liturgy is not restricted to India. In Byzantine art for example, in the theme of the *Theia Leitourgia* or Divine Liturgy, a representation of the Last Supper, Christ officiates as a priest of the Greek liturgy, having on, not the historical robes of Christ, but ritualistic robes symbolising His office and function as a priest. The Supper is not the Jewish celebration over which Christ presided, but a communion ceremony of the Greek Church. In Fra Angelico's Last Supper in San Marco, the leavened bread of the Greek Church and the historical Last Supper is transformed into the azyme bread of the Roman Church.[29] The themes of the Gothic sculptors also underwent a theatrical evolution.[30] The earlier natural representations were gradually "theatrified" under the influence of the mystery plays. The theatre could not represent God's majesty through the artist's formal means, and no human type could arouse the notions of this majesty. The most noble symbols of power were therefore associated with the human impersonators of God, giving us the types of the God-King and the God-Pope, which found their way into art.

Thus the Naṭarāja develops from the primarily spectacular treatment of Badami and Ellora to the ritual formulation of Elephanta. The Naṭarāja panel of Badami

---

27. In the opinion of a friend of mine, Mr. Balaji Menon, a dancer, almost every pose in Ellora is reminiscent of a dance pose. The hand of Narasimha on the shoulder of Hiraṇyakaśipu in the Hiraṇyakaśipuvadha panel at Ellora, for example, is unequivocally a dance pose. In Menon's opinion, such peculiar naturalness in depicting dance poses cannot be attained except by one who has studied the dance carefully, or by one who is a dancer himself.

28. Act V of *Mālatīmādhava* has an ideal Bhairava-like setting for the stage.

29. O. M. Dalton, writing in *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, ch. XII, p. 667, about the *Theia Leitourgia* says: "In this mystical scene, which belongs to later periods of Byzantine art, Our Lord is represented standing before the altar, while angels ecclesiastically vested approach from both sides, and bear to Him the sacred utensils,—vessels, books, vestments, censers, etc., down to the water and towel for cleansing the hands of the celebrant. Good examples occur among the frescoes of Mistra. In the West, the Divine Liturgy, treated with an even more extended symbolism, is found in the sculpture of Rheims Cathedral."

30 Emile Mâle, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 26-28; 100-112.

is near the door of the main entrance of the temple, thus prefiguring Elephanta somewhat in its placement, but lacking Elephanta's context.

The ritualising trend spreads from the Naṭarāja to other themes,[31] chief of which is the Gajāsuravadha. In Ellora it is depicted in its natural version; after the death of the demon Śiva merely stands in triumph over him. In the South Indian granite statues and bronzes he is seen *dancing* triumphantly over the demon. The chief vestiges of the natural event remain, the elephant head and hide, but the dance of Śiva on the head, and framed by the hide is ritual. The result is a synthesis between the natural prototype and its ritual substitution. Whatever the antiquity of the Tamilian story,[32] it is possible that it developed, plastically speaking, from the synthesis of the ritual and natural forms in the Gajāsura theme, which in turn is composed of elements obtained by the efforts of the Deccan sculptors.

We may now sum up our interpretation of the Naṭarāja theme in the following propositions :

1. *The Naṭarāja as such* is a representation of some kind of Śiva's acosmic mythical activity.
2. *The Naṭarāja of the Tamilian tradition* represents this activity in one of its irrepeatable forms.
3. *The Deccan Naṭarāja as such* represents the repeatable aspect of this activity. It is a ritual formulation of Śiva's mythical actions.
4. *The Naṭarāja of Ellora and Badami generally stresses the spectacular quality of this ritual formulation.*
5. *The Naṭarāja of Elephanta stresses the theme preeisaly in its quality as ritual formation and summing-up of Śiva's activity.*
6. The Deccan Naṭarāja, in all its forms develops independently of the Tamilian Naṭarāja ; inasmuch as it is a ritual summing up it develops out of the Bhairava-in-opposition-to-the-Mahāyogi. The substitution was due to the impact of religious dancing. The elements of the three themes : the spectacular Naṭarāja, the ritual Naṭarāja and the Bhairava—that is to say the spectacular, ritual and natural elements —are synthetized in the Gajāsura theme, from which the Tamilian Naṭarāja has probably developed.

31. In the Madagikal Inscription the themes of the Bhairava and the Gajāri are identified with that of the Andhakāri, showing the ritualising trend's influence. The ritualising trend originates in the action of the sculptors who transformed every movement of their figures into a dance pose, or one strongly reminiscent of a dance pose. The Elephant-hide of the Gajāri theme is appropriated by the Naṭarāja theme of the Eastern school (see note 1).

32. Father Heras, in his *Studies in Proto-Indo Mediterrenean Culture*, vol. 1, p. 122, quotes an inscription which he deciphers as *tandavan ir nal maram* which he translates as " the forest of the Tandavan,." This is apparently the beginning of the Tamilian story of the dance of Śiva in the forest.

II

These ritual characteristics of the dance of Śiva may help us to explain its origin : probably from the magic ritual of a primitive savage culture.[33]

Lewis Spence in his book *Myth and ritual in dance game and rhyme* speaks of ritual dance and myth as follows : " Ritual is the mimetic magic by virtue of which religious acts for the behoof of the community are performed; myth actually brings them into view. It is thus a living frieze of ritual action from which the myth emanates in the choral song which frequently accompanied the sacred dance."[34] The dance originates in magic, and magic from the fear of the unknown. Malinowski explains this when he speaks of the attitude of primitives to gardening: " thus there is a clear-cut division : there is first the well-known set of conditions, the natural course of growth, as well as the ordinary pests and dangers to be warded off by fencing and weeding. On the other hand there is the domain of the unaccountable and adverse influences, as well as the great unearned increment of fortunate coincidence. The first conditions are coped up ith knowledge and work, the second by magic."[35]

Here the principles of science and rational knowledge are unable either to control or dominate these unforeseeable events. When this occurs with regard to things that men normally desire very much for, there arises in the mind of the desirer a strong tension of the emotional order which cannot be satisfied by reason which only counsels passivity. As a result : " his nervous system and his whole organism drive him to some substitute activity. Obsessed by the idea of the desired end, he sees it and feels it. His organism reproduces the acts suggested by the anticipation of hope, dictated by the emotion of passion so strongly felt."[36]

The emotion then subsides, and there comes a relief upon the mind of the sufferer, a mental calm and a courage to undertake that which he has already subjectively achieved. He then projects this into the realm of objectivity. This is the origin of magic.

Three distinct elements may be distinguished in magic, the gesticulation, the spell, and the action of the magical ceremony. As civilization progresses, the gesticulation is separated from its association with the spell and magical action in the magic sacrifice, either because the demonstration of human impotence which is

33. This theory is stated by Zimmer, but without corroboration from Hindu sources. He says " The dancer is amplified into a being endowed with supranormal powers...Pantomimic danc is intended to transmute the dancer into whatever demon, god, or earthly existence he impersonates." *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 151-152. Otherwise he is a follower of Coomaraswamy's theory, limits himself to South Indian images (*op. cit.* pp. 151-156), and has a weakness for esoteric explanation.

34. p. 12.

35. *Magic Science and Religion*, p. 12.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

its origin is unpleasant, or because the spell is found sufficient for achieving the end. In Spence's words "all three—ritual, dance and myth are really one; they were originally indivisible parts of a single thought-process, and only incourse of time did they come to possess a separate existence of their own as magical acts, fictions, dances, by which time they had lost something of their first significance as the composite parts of a co-ordinate process."[37]

It cannot be doubted that the Brahmanic sacrifice is magical, because magic consists in the attainment of certain impersonal powers through the correct performance of certain actions, the power resulting from the action itself—*ex vi actionis*, as the Scholastics would say,—and not from the favovr of any personal deity. Now in the Brahmanic sacrifice there results from its correct performance (which is necessary) a power called *Apurva* which Edgerton defines as "the mysterious transcendental power generated by a correctly performed ritual act (the correct performance including the presumption that the performer is qualified to perform it), and it in turn produces, in the fullness of time (often after the death of the sacrificer), the fruit which is the promised reward of the act."[38] In excluding the presence of the favour of the deity, Śabara says "what has been asserted above to the effect that the deity is the prompter of details,—it is not true, because, as a matter of fact, *it is the objectifive of the sacrice*,—that is, the *Apurva*, the Transcendental Result, produced by the sacrifice—*that should be regarded as the principal factor*......the Vedic word clearly states that the fruit proceeds from that which is denoted by the root "to sacrifice," not from the deity."[39] Śabara seeks more conclusively in another place: "Further, the deity, does not own anything, and not owning anything, how could it give anything?"[40]

Hence gesticulation is not necessary for the achievement of the magical effect in the Brahmanical sacrifice; the relief formerly produced by gesticulation, now probably results from the monotonous soothing chant of the spell. But the now separated gesticulation becomes an autonomous means of devotion, with possibilities for greater specialisation in the æsthetic sphere. It still exists in connection with the sacrifice, though not as its essential constituent. It formerly reproduced the actions by which the gods brought down rain, or made the crops grow..[41] These actions were projected into the future before the separation; after the separation these actions are reproduced as performed in the past. It still possesses magical powers, though not primarily meant to possess them, and still confers restfulness, as it did before. In the words of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* the dance is:

धर्मो धर्मप्रवृत्तानां कामः कामोपसेविनाम् ।।
निग्रहो दुर्विनीतानां विनीतानां दमक्रिया ।

37. Spence, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.
38. *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, Introduction, p. 11.
39. *Śabarabhāṣya*, tr. by Ganganatha Jha, in *GOS*, no. 73, vol. 3, p. 1432.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 1436. The whole of adhikaraṇa 5 (adhāya 9, pāda 1)—the *Devatādhikaraṇa*, proves the magical nature of the Brahmanical sacrifice.
41. Spence, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

क्लीबानां धाष्टर्यजननमुत्साहः शूरमानिनाम् ॥
अबुधानां विवोधश्च वैदुष्यं विदुषामपि ।
ईश्वराणां विलासश्च स्थैर्यं दुःखर्दितस्य च ॥
अर्थोपजीवनामर्थो धृतिरुद्विग्नचेतसाम् । [42]

and दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्ताना शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ॥ [43]
विश्रान्तिजमनम्

Abhinavagupta commenting on the line दुःखार्तानां...विश्रान्तिजननं explains the magical qualities of the dance in these words दुःखं च शारीरं मानसं च । शारीरमपि दैवकृतं स्वयंकृतमपि दृष्टम् । [44] The dance therefore cures bodily ills as well. He explains this more clearly in an earlir line एवंभूतं यन्नाटचं तत्प्रेक्षकाणां दुःखेन व्याध्यादिकृतेकेन श्रमेणाध्वक्लेशादिजेन शोकेन बन्धुमरणादिकृतेनार्तानां पीडितानां...विश्रान्तिजननं दुःखप्रसरणविघातकम् [45]

In the Naṭarāja, finally, we find the separated aspects reunited. Śiva is not only the Lord of the sacifice, he is sacrifice itself :

होत्रं होता च होमस्त्वं हुतञ्च प्रहुतं प्रभुः ॥ [46]

He is not only the Lord of dancers,—the Naṭarāja—but is the dance itself personified, just as he is song and music personified :

गीतवादित्रनृत्याङ्गो गीतवादनकप्रियः । [47]

Thus the two aspects of gesticulation and sacrifice, crude in their initial union, but perfected after their separation, return and unite themselves into a perfect whole.

---

42. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, ch. 1, 109b-111a, *GOS*, p. 39—40.
43. *Ibid.*, vv. 115b-116c, p. 41.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
46. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Purvārdha, ch. 30, v. 242b.
47. *Ibid.*, v. 247a.

JATIMĀLĀ OF SOMANĀTHA

Critically edited for the first time

By

N. A. Gore

आर्यासूनुसमानं प्रणम्यमानं धरासुरैः प्रवरैः ।
ज्ञापाम्वया तयालं मुद्गलमालम्बदं कलये ॥१॥

उमे शिवपदे नम त्वमभिधाय नामास्य स-
त्करग्रहमहेऽद्रिभूरिति सखीरिता रीतिमत् ।
ह्रिया शिविति सन्नवाग् लुलितदृष्टि पृथ्वीमिल-
च्छयद्वयमिताक्षतं वरपदोर्नता वोऽवतात् ॥२॥

तनोमि जनचेष्टितानुकृतिकौतुकश्रीपति-
प्रसक्तविविधाङ्गनाव्यवहृतिस्थजातीः सतीः ।
कथा ननु यथा तथा भगवदर्पितस्वात्मनां
मनोवचनपावनं निगदितुर्विधत्ते यतः ॥३॥

[अथ मुग्धाजातिः ।]

विरज्य चिरशीलिते कमलवेदिका कन्दुके
परं सह वयस्यया कृतकपुत्रिकोद्वाहिनी ।
तदैव वरसंनिधौ रहसि शाययन्ती वधूं
दराङ्कुरितयौवना सुतनुरास्त रोमाञ्चिता ॥४॥

उपेहि दयितान्तिकं शयितुमालि मुञ्चेर्भयं
त्वया सह शयेऽप्यहं निगदितेति सख्या मुधा ।
कथंचन समं तयाऽभजत मञ्चकं बालिका-
मुना करधृतापि तां कलयति स्म चैलाञ्चले ॥५॥

पतिस्तव गतो बहिश्चल रमेमहि त्वद्गृहे
सखीभिरिति कैतवान्निभृतमस्य नीतान्तिके ।
विलोक्य सहसैव तं द्रुतमपेतुकामामुना
व्यकृष्यत पराच्युहुं-हुमिति-वादिका मुग्धिका ॥६॥

विभूषणवती बहिः स्वपिहि माऽबलाभिः सह
भ्रमन्ति निशि तस्करा भज जवेन वीरान्तिकम् ।
सखीभिरिति बालिका निगदिता न तत्रास्वप-
न्नवा स्वपतिमभ्यगादुभयथा भयोत्प्रेक्षया ॥७॥

धरातलमिलत्पदं रहसि मञ्चकासीनया
समेत्य सहसा वरे विपरिरब्धुकामे तया ।
अकम्पि चपलोत्थयाभिमुखमुद्भ्रमन्नेत्रया
समुन्नततलौ करौ तमनु धारयन्त्या भयात् ॥८॥

अयं तु शयितः सुखं स्वपिहि साधु यामो वयं
सखीष्विति गतास्वतिद्रढितकञ्चुकीवीटिका ।
निवेशितपदा शनैः शयनसीम्नि कम्पोत्तरा
पराङ्मुखमुरःस्थिरोपहितजानु तन्व्यस्वपत् ॥९॥

इति मुग्धाजातिः ।

अथ मध्याजातिः ।

त्रपां किमु विधिर्व्यधादहह वैरिणीं यद्वशाद्
विलोकयितुमप्यहं न हि सहा हसत् तन्मुखम् ।
वधूरिति विचिन्तयन्त्यतिरहःस्थिता लोलदृक्
पतिं सदसि संगतं जवनिकान्तरैरैक्षत ॥१०॥

निमीलयति तद्दृशौ समुपगत्य कान्ते परा-
ग्वदेयमपि का सखीत्यभिहिता सखीभिर्मुधा ।
वधूस्तदुरसीरिते निजकरे पतिं जानती
न किञ्चिदवदत् परं पुलकिताङ्गकाकम्पत ॥११॥

चलालि रमणान्तिकं सुतनु गृह्यतां तत्कराद्
विभूषणततिः कृते तव कृतेति सख्योदिता ।
मतं मम बताखिलं व्रज भज त्वमेवाद्य तं
प्रगृह्य तदलंकृतीरिति वधूः क्रुधेवाभ्यधात् ॥१२॥

पतिं किल बहिर्गतं श्रुतवती सखीनां मुखाद्
सुखं शयितुमाविशद् विधुमुखी स्वकेल्यालयम् ।

ततः कपटनिद्रितं तमवलोक्य लज्जाकुला
मुहुः करमुरस्यधान्निभृतमायि-रे-त्वादिनी ॥१३॥

इदं-प्रथमजान् कुचे रहसि वीक्षमाणा व्रणान्
उदस्य वसनाञ्चलं किमपि लोलदृग्बालिका ।
उपेत्य शनकैः परागुरसि चूर्णमुष्टिं प्रिये
क्षिपत्युपरि वीक्षितेऽगलदिवाकुला लज्जया ॥१४॥

इति मध्याजातिः ।

अथ प्रगल्भाजातिः ।

प्रिये स्पृशति कञ्चुकीं वरतनोर्गलत्यम्बरं
कुचौ स्वजति लीयतेऽङ्गमखिलं तु दुग्धेऽम्बुवत् ।
विचुम्बति मुखं दृशौ दरविलोलमामीलतः
शनैरुहु-हु-मेति गीरुपरमत्यशक्ता ततः ॥१५॥

विभूष्य विहितासनोपसखि तुम्बमेकं कुचे
निधाय परमंसके सदुपवीणयत्यङ्गना ।
मनाग्वलितकन्धरं चलकराङ्गुली कङ्कण-
क्वणानुगुणगायिनी नयनमाप्तमार्गेऽस्यति ॥१६॥

स्ववार इति सत्वरं स्थिरसखीकराकृष्टया
सुकङ्कतिकया कुचोपरिलुठत्कचार्कर्षिणी ।
तदैव निजदैवतं पतिमुपागतं शृण्वती
स्रजेव कबरीभरं रशनयान्वबध्नात्प्रिया ॥१७॥

इति प्रगल्भाजातिः ।

अथ मिश्राजातिः ।

विजृम्भ्य शिथिलेक्षणं कृतसदङ्गभङ्गा प्रगे
पराग्विलुलितालकावलिविहीनपाणिद्वया ।
श्रितांसवसनाञ्चलोच्चलनलक्ष्यपीनस्तनी
शनैः स्वशयनीयतो दयिततः पुरोत्तिष्ठति ॥१८॥

नमच्चिबुकपीडिताम्बरदरावृतोरोजया
पुरातिमुकुलीकृतप्रततवामहस्ताग्रया ।

भुजोन्नमनतो मनाङ्नयनलक्ष्यतन्मूलया
विधृत्य परिधीयते रुचिरकञ्चुकी कान्तया ॥१९॥

समुन्नतभुजद्वया वलिविहीनशातोदरी
भृशोन्मुखतया शिरोविगलदम्बरा सुन्दरी।
तनोति युवगोरसं विपुलगोरसोत्तारिणी
वतोच्चतरशिक्यतः पदयुगाग्रभूधारिणी ॥२०॥

विलोलदलकांशुकं दरवलन्नितम्बस्थलं
मथिस्थगुणकर्षणक्रमचलद्भुजोद्यत्कुचम्।
परिश्रमनमद्भ्रमन्नयनमुच्छलच्छ्वासया
कयापि दधि सद्रसं युवमनःसमं मथ्यते ॥२१॥

विकीर्णमणिचूर्णकप्रकरमात्मगेहं वधू–
र्विशोधयितुमानता स्फुरदुशीरभृत्पाणिना।
कराकलितजानुका तनुपदाङ्गुलीयस्वना
मनोविगलितं रतौ मृगयते नु मानं क्षितौ ॥२२॥

स्वचारुकरपल्लवोद्धृतपरिस्रवच्चन्दना
भृताच्छतरचीवरा कलितकेलिभूमार्जना।
अरं करतलेन गां नतकुचं परिस्पृश्य स-
न्नितम्बगमना पराक् स्फुरति मे पुरः सुन्दरी ॥२३॥

रणत्तरलकङ्कण मलयजाम्भसा सिञ्चती
सटक्-सटगिति प्रगे विमलकेलिगेहाङ्गणम्।
स्मरं नु बत मूर्च्छितं सुहृदि जीवयत्यङ्गना
दरोपरिकृताम्बरप्रकटगौरजङ्घानघा ॥२४॥

गलत्कुसुममास्थिता श्लथितवेणि सख्याः पुरः
प्रसाधनकृते वधूर्वियुतजानुनोरन्तरे।
करस्थवसनाञ्चलं किमपि भालतः कुर्वती
विलोक्य तु पतिं ह्रिया दरविवृत्तवक्त्राभवत् ॥२५॥

विलोक्य मुकुरे मुखं करधृतेऽङ्गुलीनां मुखैः
सलीलमलकावलीमुभयतः समीकुर्वती।

ततोऽलिकतले शनैर्मृगमदेन बिन्दुप्रदा
  सदा हि सुदती पुरः स्फुरति मे तदापीक्षिता ॥२६॥

विलोलवलयं करद्वयविधूतशूर्पास्फुट-
  झ्झटझ्झटदितिक्वणं स्फुरदुर्ल्मिकाभा मुहुः ।
तदूर्ध्वतलचालनानुसृतदृग्द्वयीखेलना
  समुत्कटकृतासना मम मनो धुनोत्यङ्गना ॥२७॥

प्रसार्य पदमेककं तदितरं विकुञ्च्य क्रमात्
  करभ्रमणतो रणद्वलयमीषदञ्चत्कुचम् ।
विलम्बितमपि द्रुतं भ्रमयतेऽनुगीतं वधूः
  सहैव युवचेतसा दरचलत्त्रिकायन्त्रकम् ॥२८॥

शिरःपरित उद्भ्रमत्करमपास्तबाहु स्तनो-
  न्नतानततया स्तनोद्गतसमेतमुक्तावलि ।
चलद्दृगधिकण्डनं झटिति तण्डुलोच्चालिनी
  ममालमवहन्त्यसून् मुहुरसावसूच्चारिणी ॥२९॥

मुहुश्चलन्नितम्बया प्रबलकङ्कणक्वाणया
  प्रनृत्तकुचमण्डलोत्तरलहारया नम्रया ।
दृषद्युपलचालनैर्वितुषमाषदालिच्छलाद्
  रसाकुलितपेशलं युवमनोऽनया पिष्यते ॥३०॥

पुनःपुनरनुक्वणद्वलयमेखलानूपुरा
  शिरःपरिपतत्पटस्फुटनटीभवद्वेणिका ।
असौ कुतुकवीक्षणाद् धवलमन्दिरारोहिणी
  पराङ्मुखनिरीक्षिताप्यभिमुखी सखे भासते ॥३१॥

क्वणत्कनककङ्कणं कपटकर्णकण्डूयनाद्
  दरस्मितयुताधरं कुटिलकन्धराबन्धुरम् ।
विलम्ब्य पथि बालया निजसखीप्रतीक्षामिषात्
  कयाचिदवलोक्यते फलदगण्यपुण्यो युवा ॥३२॥

समुन्नतभुजालतायुगलकृष्टरज्जुद्वया
  स्फुरन्नवकुचा शिरःस्खलितलोलचैलाञ्चला ।

तिरोगतशिरोधरं किमपि गीतमातन्वती
स्थिरा मम मनस्यहो कलितदोलिका वालिका ॥३३॥

उपेत्य सहसा क्षिपत्युपरि सान्द्रकस्तूरिकां
प्रिये कपटतोऽसकृद्गदितवृश्चिकाख्ये सभीः ।
सचीत्कृतमतिक्वणद्वलयमम्बरोद्धूननैः
स्फुटोरसिजकोरकं नववधूरुदस्थाद् द्रुतम् ॥३४॥

गलत्सलिलकुन्तलाधरतलोल्लसत्सीत्कृता-
म्बरावृतकुचांसकप्रणयिभुग्नवाहुद्वया ।
समुन्नतनसं सजत्तनुपटस्फुटाङ्गी नता
विहृत्य जलनिर्गता विशति किं मनो मेऽङ्गना ॥३५॥

निविश्य शुभपीठके मिलितमेव जङ्घायुगं
प्रसार्य तदुपर्यवाक्शयसुहृच्छिशोः स्नापिका ।
विकृष्टपटसंस्फुटत्कनकसन्निभोरुद्वया
मया निकटयायिना चपलदृग् वधूरीक्षिता ॥३६॥

कटीतटविघट्टितैकतरपाणिरेणेक्षणा
तदन्यतरपाणिना गुणविकर्षिणी सत्वरम् ।
समुत्सुकतया रतावुपगमय्य पर्यङ्किकां
हलूलुबयि-गायिनी झटिति शाययत्यर्भकम् ॥३७॥

नदद्वलयमेखला कुचविलोलमुक्तावलिः
प्रनृत्तकरपल्लवा जललवालिलिप्तालका ।
नता किमपि कौतुकान्निजसखीशिरोऽभ्यञ्जिनी
मनागपि मनो न मे ननु नितम्बिनी मुञ्चति ॥३८॥

निवध्य चिकुरान् मनागथ यथा तथाच्छाद्य त-
न्नितम्बजघनस्तनं घनमनीविना वाससा ।
विलोलदृगियं नता करधृताम्बराभ्यञ्जनो-
त्तरं भृतजलस्थलं वसनकाम्यया क्रामति ॥३९॥

प्रसार्य तु नतांसयो रहसि शोषयन्ती कचान्
मनाक् कुचचलत्पटा झटिति वीक्ष्य मामागतम् ।

स्थितातिचकितं पराक् क्वणितकङ्कणं पाणिना
तदञ्चलनिवेशिनी शिरसि लज्जमानाङ्गना ॥४०॥

यथायथविभूषणा पतिपथेक्षिणी तत्क्षणं
समेत्य गदितामुना कुतुकतोऽन्यनाम्ना वधूः ।
प्रविश्य गृहकोणकं त्वरितमश्रुमिश्राञ्जन-
प्रसिक्तवसनाञ्चलावृतमुखं पराच्यस्वपत् ॥४१॥

उपालि कलितासना गलितमूर्धचैलाङ्गना
घनोरुजघनस्तनी परिदधत्यवाक् कञ्चुकीम् ।
विलोक्य सहसान्तिके पतिमथोपचाराक्षमा
द्रुताहृतवयस्यया वपुरगोपयल्लज्जया ॥४२॥

कयापि सरजस्कयानृजुभुजात्तजानुद्वयं
पटाञ्चलतिरोहितांघ्रि तनुगूढमासीनया ।
कुतोऽपि कुपितेति तामनुनयन्नुपेतः पति-
स्त्रपादरहसन्मुखं हुमिति पाणिना वार्यते ॥४३॥

विलोक्य दयितं विनाऽऽगतवतीं स्वदूतीं चिरात्
परास्तवदनश्रियं ह्रियमकार्यसिद्धेर्गताम् ।
निपीडितशयद्वयाङ्गुलि कृतास्यभङ्गं कया-
प्यवादि हतदैवया मम गृहं गृहीतं तया ॥४४॥

इति मिश्राजातिः ।

अथ [अष्ट] नायिकालक्षणम ।

प्रोषितभर्तृका ।

वियोगविधुरा वधूर्बत मधौ मुधालीमुखाद्
उपेतमनुशृण्वती पतिमिता शनैर्देहलीम् ।
निवेश्य करमेककं कटितटे ललाटे न्यधाद्
अधःकृततलं परं तदवलोकिनी दूरतः ॥४५॥

प्रिये कथय वाञ्छितं यदहमन्यदेशंगमी
सखीति पतिभाषिता मुहुरलक्षितं निघ्नती ।

नताङ्गुलिकयालिकं विकलवागवादीदवाक्
सखेऽञ्जलिपयोऽर्थये प्रतिसुतीर्थमर्थप्रदम् ।।४६।।

खण्डिता ।

स्फुरत्सुरतलक्ष्मणि प्रग उपागते कामुके
निरीक्ष्य कुटिलेक्षणं द्रुतविवृत्तवक्त्राभवत् ।
ततो नमति तत्र सा पदयुगं प्यधाद् वाससा
हठादथ शठे स्पृशत्यकृत हुंकृतैर्न्यक्कृतिम् ।।४७।।

कलहान्तरीता ।

नमत्करतले मुखं शठ समर्प्य बाष्पं बहुं
मुहुस्तरलतर्जनीनखमुखेन विक्षिप्य च ।
धृतासुहरमौनया सततदेहलीसक्तया
तया श्वसितवेगतः स्फुरदुरोजया खिद्यते ।।४८।।

विप्रलब्धा ।

निकुञ्जमलिगुञ्जितं समवलोक्य शून्यं तया
किमप्युदितचिन्तया स्तिमितयातिनिश्वासया ।
करोमि किमिहाधुना शठ हतेति सास्रेक्षणं
मुहुर्मुकुलितः शयः करतलेन संमर्दितः ।।४९।।

उत्का ।

निकुञ्जभवनं पतिः किमिति नागतो याति किं
विलम्ब्य किमु यास्यति क्वचन किं नु लीनोऽभवत् ।
प्रभूतमिति-चिन्तिनी व्रजति ताम्यति भ्राम्यति
श्वसित्यभिविशत्यभिस्पृशति निन्दति क्रन्दति ।।५०।।

वासकसज्जा ।

समोदमुपदेहलि स्थितवती मणेर्दर्पणे
प्रसाधितमनुक्षणं वपुरवेक्षमाणाङ्गना ।
उपेत्य सहसा हठाच्चकितयन्तमाप्तं रसाद्
अगय्यगयि-वादिनी भयबलात् किलालिङ्गति ।।५१।।

अभिसारिका ।

विभूषणमणिस्फुरत्सरणि वल्गुवल्गत्कुच
झणज्झणदिति क्वणत्कनककिङ्किणीनूपुरम् ।
विलासललितं धरातलमिलद्दुकूलाञ्चलं
समुत्सुकतया प्रिया व्रजति पुण्यवन्तं प्रति ।।५२।।

स्वाधीनपतिका ।

न मुञ्चति ममाङ्गणं स वपुषा मुखं वा दृशा
वचः श्रुतिपुटेन च स्वनुरतेऽपि गोपीशते ।
विभुग्नतलपाणिनानुसृतनासिकाग्रं मुहु-
र्मुदोपसखि राधया निगदितोऽनुरागो हरेः ।।५३।।

इत्यष्टौ नायिकाः ।

उमेशगुरुपादसत्कमलमाल्भारी हृदि
प्रमोदवति मौद्गलिः कलितसोमनामा कविः ।
प्रसादयितुमार्पयद् गुणिजनाय जातिस्रजं
नितान्तमृजवे नवां स्वसुमनोलताभ्युद्गताम् ।।५४।।

इति

श्री सकलकलोपनाम—सोमनाथ विरचिता

जातिमाला

समाप्ता ।

Critical Notes

[*B*—Ms. no. 5542 from the Oriental Institute, Baroda. *C*—Ms. no. G 8267 from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. *K*—Ms. in the Kotnis Collection (1953) at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. *P*—Ms. no. 302 of 1884–86 at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. W_1—Ms. no. 58 at the Prājñapāṭhaśālā, Wai, Dist. N. Satara. W_2—Ms. no. 75 at the same institution.]

Stz. 1—C ज्ञाम्पाम्बया and K ज्ञाताम्बया for ज्ञापाम्बया.

Stz. 2—B, K, W_2—शिवे for उमे. K, W_2—°शताक्षरं for °मिताक्षतं. B, W_1—°मिताक्षरं for °मिताक्षतं.

Stz. 3—C omits this Stz.

Stz. 4—C, P, K—°पुत्रकोद्वाहिनी for °पुत्रिकोद्वाहिनी.

Stz. 5—P, W_2—करघृताथ for करघृतापि.

Stz. 6—B, W_1—पराच्य हुं हुमिति, K—पराचि हुं हुमिति for पराच्युहुंहुमिति. K, W_2—बालिका for मुग्घिका.

Stz. 7. K, W_2—भयोत्प्रेक्षणात् for भयोत्प्रेक्षया.

Stz. 9. K—सखीष्वति for सखीष्विति. P after this Stz. omits इति मुग्धाजातिः, but adds अथ मध्याजातिः before Stz. 10.

Stz. 10. C—रहसि for सदसि. W_2—जवनिकान्तरेणैक्षत for जवनिकान्तरैरैक्षत.

Stz. 11. B, W_1—वदेयमपि का for वदेयमयि का.

Stz. 12. C, K, P, W_2—दूत्योदिता for सख्योदिता.

Stz. 13. C—°मायि-गे-वादिनी for °मायि-रे-वादिनी.

Stz. 14. P omits इति मध्याजातिः after this stz. W_2 reads इति मध्यमजातिः ।

Stz. 15. B, C, K, W_1 omit अथ प्रगल्भाजातिः before this stz. W_2 reads अथ प्रगल्भजातिः । C—लीलया for लीयते.

Stz. 17. C—सत्वरा for सत्वरं. K—निजदैवतं. W_2 also appears to read निजदैवतं for निजदैवतः. B, W_1, W_2—कवरीं परं for कवरीभरं. P, W_1, W_2 omit इति प्रगल्भाजातिः after this stz.

Stz. 18. B, W_1—विजृम्भशिथिलेक्षणं for विजृम्भ्य शिथिलेक्षणं.

Stz. 19. K, P—मनाग्नयन° for मनाङ्नयन°.

Stz. 21. B, W_1—परिभ्रम° for परिश्रम°. B, W_1—°मुच्छलच्छायया and K—°मुच्चलच्छ्वासया for °मुच्छलच्छ्वासया.

Stz. 22. B, W_1—मामक्षिभि : for मानं क्षितौ.

Stz. 23. C and P omit this stz.

Stz. 24. K—झटग्झटगिति and C—सटत्सटदिति for सटक्सटगिति. P, W_1—गेहाङ्गनं for गेहाङ्गणं. C—युवसु for सुहृदि.

Stz. 25. B, W_1—विधुतजानु° for वियुतजानु°.

Stz. 27. P—विलोलवलयद्वयं करविधूत° for विलोल...विधूत°. C—°लेखना for °खेलना.

Stz. 28. K, W_2—करमेककं for पदमेककं. C—युवमानसैः for युवचेतसा.

Stz. 29. C, P—°मुक्तावलिः, B, W_2 मुक्तावलीः for °मुक्तावलि. B, C—तंदुलोच्चालिनी for तंडुलोच्चालिनी. C—ममासुमवहन्ति किं मुहुरसावसूच्चारिणी for the last line.

Stz. 31. P—कुतुकवीक्षणा धवल° for कुतुकवीक्षणाद्धवल°.

Stz. 32. C—°कण्डूयना for °कण्डूयनाद्.

Stz. 33. B, W_1, W_2—स्खलितचैललोलाञ्चला for स्खलितलोलचैलाञ्चला. K—स्खलितलोल-चैलाञ्चलं.

Stz. 34. B, W_1, W_2—चमत्कृतमतिक्वण° for सचीत्कृतमतिक्वण°.

Stz. 37. P—हल्लूलवयि-गायिनी for हल्लूलुवयि-गायिनी.

Stz. 38. B, W_2—°मुक्तावलि प्र° for °मुक्तावलिः प्र°. C, K—°शिरोभ्यञ्जनी for °शिरोऽभ्यञ्जिनी.

Stz. 40. K, W_2—शिरसि भासमानाङ्गना for शिरसि लज्जमानाङ्गना.

Stz. 41. B, P, W_1, W_2—यथातथविभूषणा for यथायथविभूषणा. B—गृहकोशकं for गृहकोणकं.

Stz. 42. C—गलितमूर्ध्वचै° for गलितमूर्घचै°. B, K, W_1, W_2—द्रुतं हुतवयस्यया for द्रुताहूतवयस्यया.

Stz. 44. All Mss. except B read मया. But in B, म in मया is corrected to त. तया refers to the dūti, she had lost the beaming colour on her face and had become abashed (apparently) due to the failure of her mission of bringing the lover to the nāyikā, the latter knew that the dūtī had really betrayed her and had dallied with her lover. Only on this interpretation, and with the reading तया in last line, the expressions निपीडित°, कृतास्य° and हतदैवया which show nāyikā's sense of frustration can be explained. C adds इति मिश्राजातिः after this stz.

Stz. 45. C adds अथ नाय[यि]कालक्षणं । प्रोषितभर्तृका before this stz. C—प्रयातमनु° for °उपेतमनु°.

Stz. 46. C adds प्रोषितपा[प]तिका before this stz. C, P—बताङ्गुलि° for नताङ्गुलि°.

Stz. 47. C adds खण्डिता before this stz.

Stz. 48. C adds कलहान्तरिता before this stz. B, W_1 read वाष्पं मुहुर्विसृज्य हृदयं स्वकं नखमुखेन निक्षिप्य च for वाष्पं वहुं...विक्षिप्य च.

Stz. 49. C adds विप्रलब्धा before this stz. K, W_1—°मलिकूजितं for °मलिगुञ्जितं.

Stz. 50. C adds उत्का before this stz. C—°मिति चिन्तनी for °मिति चिन्तिनी.

Stz. 51. C adds वासकसज्जा before this stz.

Stz. 52. C adds अभिसा [रि] का before this stz. C—प्रियं for प्रिया.

Stz. 53. C adds स्वाधीनपतिका before this stz. B, C, W_1, W_2—ममाङ्गनं. C adds इत्यष्टौ नायिका: afte this stz.

Stz. 54. B, W_1, W_2 read उमे शिवपदेलसत्कमल° for उमेशगुरुपादसत्कमल°.

जातिमाला

श्लोकसूची।

—:०:—

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ŚVETĀMBARA JAINA CHURCH

OR

A DOCUMENTARY EPIGRAPH FROM THE MOUNT ŚATRUÑJAYA*

By

UMAKANT PREMANAND SHAH

Even though two Epigraphs of the age of ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla are lost, their texts are retrieved from oblivion from manuscripts available in Jaina *Bhāṇḍāras*. They are the *Sukṛtakīrti-kallolinī* of Udayaprabha and the *Vastupāla-Tejapālapras'asti* of Jayasiṁhasūri.[1] A third, of the same age, is the partially preserved Dabhoi *Praśasti* in the *Vastupālacaritra* of Jinaharṣa.[2] A fourth epigraph of the same age, discussed below, shared the same fate as the above three. The original inscription placed on the entrance to a Jaina shrine at Śatruñjaya is not traceable today. but the text of the epigraph is made known to us by the following transcript of it available from a stray paper Ms. copy of it from the collections of Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijayaji. I am obliged to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī for bringing it to my notice and for the kind permission to publish the same. This transcript seems to have been made in the end of the fifteenth century A.D. as can be inferred from the style of writing and the Nāgari characters.

Unlike the three epigraphs, this epigraph is not a *Praśasti* or eulogy of a person or a family but records the resolutions, of a council of Śvetāmbara Jaina monks and laymen, which were incised on a slab at Mt. Śatruñjaya for the knowledge of all the members of the Jaina Saṅgha ; it is, therefore, a *lekha* or a record in its true sense and as the following transcript will show, it was also kept on record in the State Statute-book i.e. in the Śāsana-paṭṭikā of the Minister Tejapāla, the younger brother of Vastupāla. It is therefore a documentary epigraph and not a *praśasti.*

The *lekha* or record begins with the date of the resolution passed by the council on Sunday, the 14th day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna*, 1298 V.S. (A.D. 1242,), in the city Aṇahillapāṭaka, in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śri Tihuaṇapāla (Tribhuvanapāla), when Mahāmātya Śrī Tāta[3] was in charge of *Śrīkaraṇādimudrāvyāpāra*[4] and when by their grace the provinces (or divisons

* Paper read at the A.I.O. Conference Session held at Ahmedabad in 1953.

1. Both published as app. I and III to the *Hammīramadamarddana-nāṭaka* (G.O.S. Vol.X).
2. Sandesara, B. J., *Literary Circle of Vastupāla* (Singhi Jaina series, 1953), para 218.
3. Tāta was a Mahāmātya Daṇḍanāyaka in V.S. 1296 according to a colophon at the end of a palm-leaf ms. of *Upades'akandalīvṛtti* (of Bālacandra), Pāṭaṇ, Saṁgha-Bhāṇḍāra, *vide*, *Jaina-Pustaka-Pras'asti-Saṁgraha*, I, p. 121.
4. The above-mentioned ms. of *Upades'akandalī-vṛtti* simply writes *Śrī-Śrīkaraṇam paripanthayati sati* for Tāta, in place of our expression ; both convey the same meaning of being in

-des'a) of Pañcāla. Kheṭakādhāra, Vālāka, Surāṣṭrā, Dhandhukka, Dhavalakka and such other divisions[5] were being governed, by a royal order or charter (*paṭṭalayā bhujyamāneṣu*),[6] by Rāṇaka Śrī Lūṇapasāja, the lord of Maṇḍaleśvaras, born of the Cālukya race, along with his son Mahārāṇaka Śrī Vīramadeva and with Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Śrī Vīsaladeva, the son of Mahārāṇaka Śrī Vīradhavaladeva, who was the second eldest son (of Lūṇapasāja. Cf. *tathā dvitīyajyeṣṭhasuta*).[7]

The following Caityavāsī ācāryas were present: From the Aṇahillapattana, Sarvadeva sūri[8] as well as Śrī Pūrṇabhadra sūri, of Thārāpadrīya gaccha, (residing) in the Śri Sāmpāvasahī Caitya (C.). Śrī Śīlaguṇa sūri of Brahmāṇa gaccha in the Ariṣṭanemi C., Śrī Jīvadeva sūri (residing) in the Vāyaḍa-vasahī C., Śrī Devacandra sūri in the Pañcāsarā C.,[9] Śrī Vimalacandra in the Jālihara C., Śrī Āmadeva sūri in the Dyūtavasahikā, C.[10] Śrī Nāgendra sūri in the Lolāutrā (?) C. Śrī Śānti sūri in the Sanḍarā C. From Bhṛgukaccha, Śrī Jayasimha sūri (residing) in the Śri Śakunikā-vihāra C., Śrī Devagupta sūri and Śrī Siddha sūri of Osavāla C., Śrī Jiṇadeva sūri of Bhāvaḍārā C., Śrī Cakreśvara sūri of Moḍhavasahī C., Śrī Āṇanda sūri of Bharuachā C.,[11] Khaḍāyathā Śrī Jineśvara sūri,[12] Śrī Devachandra sūri of Lakhaṇārā C., Śrī Pajūna (Pradyumna) sūri of Haiyaurā C.. Nāṇāvāla Śrī Siddha sūri of Jālaurā C., Koranṭāvāla Śrī Kakka sūri of the Caḍāulā C. Then from Āśapallī, Śrī Deva sūri and Śrī Āma sūri residing in the Śrī-Udayana-vihāra C. From Dhavalakkaka, Śrī Simhadatta sūri of Jālaurā C. From Stambhanaka-Pārśvanātha C., Śrī Mallavadī sūri. From Śrī Vaṭapadraka, Śrī Guṇasena sūri of Kauḍīvasahī C.

---

charge of the Government of the State, the State-Seal and possibly the Finance-Portfolio. Mudrāvyāpāra alone means Exhange or Banking Business, which is not the sense here. These expressions are frequently met with in Cāulukyan grants and Jaina *Praśastis*. Śrī-karaṇa = Department of State Income.

5. Pañcāla seems to be the part of modern Saurāṣṭra between Vīramgam and Dhāngadhrā. Kheṭakādhāra = Kheṭakamaṇḍala; Vālāka is the modern Vāgaḍa between Rādhanpur and Kaccha or Valā (Vālabhī) district. Surāṣṭrā is not the whole of Kathiawad, but modern Soraṭh in Southern and South-Western Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Dhanukkadh = Dhandhūkā and Dhavalakkaka = Dholkā.

6. For Puṭṭalā or Ādeśa issued by a king, a Prime Minister or a Feudatory, see, Lekhapaddhati (G.O.S. Vol. XIX), p. 7.

7. The expression is intriguing. See however the discussion following.

8. He may be the same as the author of *Svapnasaptatikā* composed in V.S. 1287; see, Desai, *Jaina Sahityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa*, p. 305. The Caityavāsī ācāryas present here must have been learned monks and leaders.

9. An image of Devacandra sūri exists in the Pañcāsarā shrine.

10. A Pañcatīrthī image of Śāntinātha was installed in V.S. 1321 by one Āmadevasūri of Caitrāgaccha. The bronze is at present worshipped in the Jaina shrine at Karheḍā or Kareḍā in Mevāḍa. It is not certain whether he is identical with this Āmadeva sūri or with Āmadeva sūri from Āśāpallī referred to below or is a different monk of the same name.

11. A Praśasti at the end of a palm-leaf ms. of *Kalpasūtra-Kālakakathā*, d. V.S. 1344 now in Samghavī Bhāṇḍāra, Pāṭaṇa, refers to Amaraprabha sūri, a pupil of Ānanda sūri; cf. *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha*, Vol. I, (ed by Muni Jinavijaya), p. 36. The identification is only tentative.

12. Khaḍāyathā suggests that he was originally probably of Khadāyatā caste or that he was especially revered by Khaḍāyatās and had converted a large number of Khaḍāyatā Banias to Jainism. It may refer to a place-name.

The undermentioned Vasativāsī ācāryas were also present:

Śrī Vijayasena sūri, the pupil of ācārya Śrī Haribhadra sūri, Śrī Manikyacandra sūri, the pupil of Maladhāri Śrī Naracandra sūri, Śrī Meruprabha sūri in the lineage of Rājaguru Śrī Hema sūri; Śrī Hemaprabha sūri, the pupil of Śrī Devendra sūri in the *gaccha* of Vādi Śrī Deva sūri; Śrī Mandanacandra sūri, the pupil of Śrī Abhayadeva sūri; Śrī Amaracandra sūri, in the lineage of Śrī Devabhadra sūri[13]; Śrī Varddhamāna sūri, the pupil of Kāṭhaviṭhīya Śrī Vijayasimha sūri, Śrī Āṇanda sūri in the lineage of Śrī Dharmaghoṣa sūri; Śrī Māṇikya sūri, the pupil of Śrī Nemicandra sūri; Śrī Yaśodeva sūri in the line of Caitrāvāla Śrī Śānti sūri; Śrī Padmaprabha sūri, the pupil of Chhatrāulā Śrī Devaprabha sūri of the line of Śrī Abhayadeva sūri, the commentator of Nine Aṅga texts; from Karaḍihaṭṭikā, Śrī Candraprabha sūri, the pupil of Śrī Dharmaghoṣa sūri; from Stambhatīrtha, Śrī Muniratna sūri, the pupil of Śrī Municandra sūri; from Bhālijā, Śrī Ratnaprabha sūri, the pupil of Śrī Jineśvara sūri; from Naḍiyāudra-grāma, Śrī Govinda sūri; from Dhavalakkaka Śrī Padmacandra sūri, the pupil of Śrī Dhaneśvara sūri (and) Śrī Dharmaghoṣa sūri; (also) Śrī Dhaneśvara sūri, the pupil of Śrī Dharma sūri; Śrī Kanaka sūri, the pupil of Śrī Muniratna sūri; Śrī Puruṣottama sūri. From Āśāpalli. Śrī Tilakaprabha sūri, in the line of Śrī Malaya sūri; from Vāmanasthali, Śrī Nemi sūri and Śrī Māṇadeva sūri; Śrī Dharmacandra sūri from Śrī Devapattana; Śrī Candraprabha sūri from Dhandhukkaka;[14] from Śrī Varddhamāna, Śrī Jayasimha sūri, (and) Śrī Haribhadra sūri; of Maṇḍalī Śrī Bālacandra sūri as also Śrī Yaśobhadra sūri[15] and other ācāryas who are Vasativāsis—thus by all the ācāryas of the four gacchas, viz., Nāgendra, Candra, Nirvṛti and Vidyādhara, having met together intimately (or jointly—samavāyena) (and) in the presence of the following from Śripattana: Śrī Lākhaṇapāla, the son of Maham. Śrī Ratnapāla, Maham Guṇapāla, son of Maham. Śrī Dhanapāla; Maham. Tejapāla, the younger brother of Maham. Śrī Vastupāla, the son of Ṭha. Śrī Āsarāja; Maham. Śrī Jayatasīha, the son of Śrī Vastupāla, Ṭha. Āsapaladeva Sā, the son of merchant (Śreṣṭhi) Someśvaradeva; Ṭha. Rājasāha, the son of Ṭha. Śrīcandra; Ṭha. Śrī Sāmantasīha, the grandson of Ṭha. Śrī Ālhaṇa of Khaḍāyatha caste; Śre. Vīrapāla, the son of Śre. (Śreṣṭhi) Varddhamāna; Sāhu Jiṇacandra, the son of Śre. Sahadeva, Bhān. (Bhāṇḍaśālika) Ābhaḍa, the son of Bhāṇḍaśālika Āsā; from Dhavalakkaka, Śre. Khetala, the son of Śre. Bhojā, Śre. Ratana the son of Śre. Mahipāla, Śre. Vikala, the son of (Śre.) Vijā, Śre. Padmacandra of the gotra of Śre. Luṇiga. From Āśāpalli, Bhima, the son of Ṭha. Vihu, the son of Śre. Thāḍā. Śre. Maham. Madana, the son of Rājasiha; from Stambhatīrtha, Śre. Mayadhara, the son of Śre. Rāmadeva. Śre. Jayatā, the son of Śre. Vayarasiha, Śre. Samghavī) Sāmanta, the son of Śre. Sam. (Samghavī) Dhīraṇa, Bhān. (Bhāṇḍaśālika)

13. This Devabhadra should be identified with the author of *Kahārayaṇa kosa*.

14. He may be identical with Candraprabha sūri of Rājagaccha who was the teacher of Prabhācandra, the author of Prabhāvaka critra. See Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

15. Possibly identical with Yaśobhadra sūri of Candra gaccha who consecrated a bronze in V.S. 1300 and another in V.S. 1315, both bronzes now in a Jaina shrine at Ghoghā, see, Nahar, Jaina inscriptions, Vol. II, no. 1778-79.

Āsapāla, the son of Pātā, the son of Bhāṇḍaśālika Bāhaḍa, Bhāṇḍaśālika Jasavīra's son Bhān. Sobhita, Bhān. Dhāra and other famous śrāvakas and in presence of the Śrī-Saṁgha made up of sādhu, sādhvī, śrāvaka and śrāvikā, the following *resolution* has been passed after due deliberation about what befits the Jaina Darśana and Ācāra:—

In the Gūrjjara land, in the districts (divisions or provinces) of Surāṣṭrā, Kaccha, Marumaṇḍala, Lāṭa etc., in the areas directly governed by the King or State (Rājabhukti) and in the bhuktis of old Sāmantas and in the bhuktis of (governed by) junior Sāmantas, in the present capital Śrī-Pattana (and) in other cities, adhiṣṭhānas (district towns), ports, villages, mines, etc., on tops of mountains Śrī Śatruñjaya, Raivataka, (and) Arbuda, in all the existing Arhat-Caityas (Jaina Shrines) in the above-mentioned places, from amongst the Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas, Paṇḍitas and others, whether staying in shrines (i.e. Caityavāsīs) or in Vasatis (special abodes for monks,) if any of them, by their misdeeds, break the vow of celebacy and anyhow procreate sons, daughters, etc., then, of issues born in this way, their fathers, whether they be ācāryas, paṇdits etc., of the Caityavāsīs or of the Vasativāsīs, should neither perform nor cause to be performed, installation (ceremony) as ācārya, after the saṁvat 94 (i.e. 1294) past.[16]

Again, for all times after the beginning of the saṁvatsara mentioned above,[17] one should never initiate as monks or nuns or cause to be initiated by others the issues born by such defaults (viklava). None should install them as an ācārya nor should any one cause them to be installed as ācāryas; nor should people born this way put on, of their own accord, the garb of a Jaina monk.

Whoever transgresses this law established, out of regard for what is befitting the Jaina Śāsana, by ācāryas of gacchas amongst both the Caityavāsīs and the Vasativāsīs, should be declared as transgressor of the law, being (therefore) outcast from the Jaina Saṅgha and being one with whom Jainas should not dine (a-pāṅkteya); and hence the ācāryas and śrāvakas should always avoid him and should drive him out of the Sthānaka (caitya or vasati).

Again, when in any city, town or village etc., one transgresses this (newly) established custom, then the ācāryas or Śrāvakas of the place should not cherish the least doubt in their mind that in driving out of the sthānaka, with insult, a person who violates this law and who is (therefore) an unrighteous fellow, they are in any way committing an act of violation of the code of right conduct (aticāra?) or defamation (aślāghā); (for) in outcasting the unrighteous one incurs no demerit nor is such an act an occasion for public

16. The resolution was passed in V.S. 1298. Hence it must be understood to have retrospective effect from V.S. 1294.

17. i.e. the date of this resolution.

censure. This decision (artha) has been unanimously taken after mature deliberation (*samyaknirṇītaḥ*) by this convention of the fourfold Saṅgha.

If any person, when being driven out of the Sthānaka, with the declaration that he has violated the rule established by the Saṅgha, takes recourse to any pressure through physical suffering (fast etc.), etc., he shall meet with death after having attained the position of a dog, a donkey, or a cāṇḍāla (i.e. after death he shall be born as a dog, donkey or cāṇḍāla).

All these followers of the Jaina Faith who respect this Vyavasthā (decision, law, resolutions) should strive in such a way that a great increase is effected of the glory of the Śāsana or Doctrine of the Omniscient One. This Vyavasthā (order) established by the Saṅgha has been caused to be entered into (dictated) in State Record (Śāsanapaṭṭikāyām) by the wise Minister-in-Chief Tejapāla, who is, like Bṛhaspati, an expert in Code or Records, and who is the younger brother of Śrī Vastupāla. Ṭha. Madana, the son of Maham. Ṭha. Jayatā of Prāgvāṭa family, wrote this Praśasti-Paṭṭikā (the text of this epigraph).

Sūtra. (Sūtradhāra) Sālhaṇa, the son of Sūtra. Vālhā, (who was) the son of Sūtradhāra Sahadeva, incised this epigraph. (May there be) Auspiciousness, May the Great Śrī bestow knowledge.[18]

This Vyavasthā established by the fourfold-saṅgha is (seen) incised on the main entrance to the shrine of 22 Stucco-Images of Tīrthaṅkaras, in the Śatruñjaya Mahātīrtha. From there, it has been brought and copied here, for knowledge of Vyavahāra (Right-Conduct or Law).

The record is very important for various reasons. First of all, it reflects the condition of the society in general and the Jaina society in particular, in Gujarāt in the thirteenth century A.D. Secondly, it gives us an insight into the condition of the Jaina Church of the age. It is well known that Vanarāja, the founder of Cāvaḍā dynasty of Aṇahilvāḍa-Pāṭaṇ and of the city itself, was helped by Śīlaguṇa sūri of Nāgendra gaccha, who was a Caityavāsī sādhu. The Caityavāsis, therefore, had a strong hold in Pāṭaṇ from c. 746 A.D. (802 V.S.). They were rather lax in morals and in the observance of the code of conduct prescribed for Jaina monks or nuns. Jineśvara sūri, the founder of Kharatara gaccha, and a pupil of Varddhamāna sūri of Candrakula, defeated them in the court of Solaṅkī king Durlabharāja of Pāṭaṇ ; since then the Caityavāsīs were reported to have lost their former hold on the Jaina masses of Pāṭaṇ and Gujarāt. In the age of Kumārapāla, in the twelfth century A.D., Kakkasūri of Upakeśa gaccha again expelled some Caityavāsīs from (his) gaccha (*Desai's History of Jain-Literature*, p. 263) which means

18. Even today in Mārwār they say—" मंगलं महाश्री दे विद्या परमेसरी " " while a child is first taught writing. I am thankful to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji for this information.

that the evil was still there in the church and had possibly grown. This is possible. Droṇācārya, who was originally a maternal uncle of Bhīma I, was a great Caityavāsī ācārya and his disciple Surācārya was a great scholar and poet who obtained victory in the Court of Bhoja of Dhārā. This means that even after Durlabharāja, the Caityavāsīs were strong in Pātaṇ, in the days of Bhīma I. As some of their very talented ācāryas obtained recognition in the Pātaṇ Court, the Caityavāsīs could not be wiped out of Pāṭaṇ and Gujarāt. Some of these Caityavāsīs must have been very lax in morals. Before the find of this record, it was generally believed that at least after the age of Hemacandra the Caityavāsīs had lost hold over the Jaina masses in Pāṭaṇ. But the present record, which has to be accepted as genuine, shows that they were not only sufficiently strong but had a number of well-known Caityas under their control and that some of the leading Acāryas of the time were Caityavāsīs. It is surprising to find that Jayasiṁha sūri of Śakunikāvihāra at Broach, whom Vastupāla and Tejapāla respected so much was a Caityavāsī-ācārya. The Udayanavihāra at Āśāpallī[19] was under the control of Śrī Devasūri who was a Caityavāsī. Jīvadeva sūri of Vāyaṭīya gaccha was a Caityavāsī. The Pancāsarā Pārśvanātha temple was still in the hands of Caityavāsīs. The Stambhana-Pārśvanātha shrine at Cambay was in the hands of Mallavādī. An incident about this ācārya noted by the *Prabandhakośa* (Simghi Jain series, pp. 109-11) and the *Vastupālacaritra* of Jinaharṣa (IV. 485 ff) is noteworthy :—

Once Vastupāla was going to attend the sermon of Malla-Vādin, but as he was entering the hall, he heard the Ācārya uttering the following line :—

अस्मिन्नसारे संसारे सारं सारङ्गलोचना ।

Thinking that the ācārya's mind was filled with thought of women he did not salute him. Then the Ācārya, ready-witted as he was, recited the second pāda of the verse as—

यत्कुक्षिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवादृशाः ॥

Being struck by his ready wit, Vastupāla gave him proper honour. The *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī* of Ratnamandiragaṇi (p. 74) ascribes the incident to Amarcandra sūri, the author of *Bālabhārata* etc., while the *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha* (p. 76) ascribes it to Bālahamsa sūri of Śakunikāvihāra at Broach. But it seems that the evidence about Mallavādin is more reliable as it is older. The incident becomes more interesting in the light of our record and shows that learned Caityavāsī monks were bold enough to talk of ladies in this way. We are here reminded of another incident. Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Siṅghi Jain Series, p. 98) says that Kumāradevī, a beautiful young widow, once attended a lecture of Haribhadra sūri when the monk's attention was incessantly drawn towards her during the lecture. Minister Āsarāja, the father of Vastupāla, who was present there, marked it and at the end of the lecture asked the monk about his behaviour

19. The site of Āstodiā, Jamālapur and Kānkariā etc. in modern Ahmedābād. It is noteworthy that Karṇāvatī is not mentioned here.

which was not expected of a true monk. The monk said that the woman would give birth to great men. The monk explained that he could know this by incessantly noting the various marks on her person, as explained in the Sāmudrika-Lakṣaṇaśāstra. At this, Aśvarāja carried off Kumāradevī and from this union Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born.

Now, divination is a *pāpaśruta*, prohibited for Jaina monks; so also is the observing of features of a lady, because it involves looking at the beauty of a female form. This the Caityavāsīs openly practised, though against the original rules of conduct prescribed for Jaina monks.

The following were the Caityas and their Caityavāsī ācāryas represented in the council :—

Patan—

1.	Sāmpāvasahī[20] Caitya	1.	Sarvadeva sūri of Thārāpadrīya gaccha
		2.	Pūrṇabhadra sūri
2.	Ariṣṭanemī-C.	1.	Śīlaguṇasūri of Brahmāṇa gaccha.
3.	Vāyaḍavasahī -C.	1.	Śrī Jīvadeva sūri[21]
4.	Pañcāsarā-C.	1.	Devacandra sūri
5.	Jāliharā-C.	1.	Śrī Vimalacandra sūri
6.	Dyūtavasahikā C.	1.	Śrī Āmadeva sūri
7.	Lolāutrā-C.	1.	Śrī Nāgendra sūri
8.	Saṇḍarā-C.	1.	Śrī Śānti sūri[22]
		9.	Caityavāsī ācāryas.

Broach—

1.	Sakunikā-vihāra C.	1.	Śrī Jayasimha sūri[23]
2.	Osavālā C.	1.	Śrī Devagupta sūri[24]
		2.	Śrī Siddha sūri[25]
3.	Bharuachā C.	1.	Śrī Āṇanda sūri

20. Pūrṇabhadra sūri reminds us of Pūrṇabhadra sūri who restored and reconstructed the Pañcākhyānaka in V.S. 1255 (Desai, Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa, p. 340 f.). The Sāmpāvasahī-Caitya, on the analogy of Kumāravihāra or Udayanavihāra, may be supposed to have been built by Sampatkara, the well known Jaina Prime Minister of Karṇadeva Solaṅkī.

21. Jīvadeva sūri was a disciple of Jinadatta sūri, the author of Viveka-vilāsa, see, M. D. Desai's History of Jaina Literature (in Gujarati), p. 341.

22. Cf.: अचालि सण्डेरकगच्छसूरिभि: प्रशान्तसूरैरथ शान्तिसूरिभि: ॥१२॥ The Śanti sūri of Saṇḍera gaccha who accompanied Vastupāla in one of his pilgrimages may be the same as this Śānti sūri of Saṇḍerā Caitya.

23. The author of वस्तुपाल प्रशस्ति, हम्मीरमदमर्द्दन, who was a pupil of Vīra sūri.

24. He may be the same as Devagupta referred to in Nahar's *Jaina Inscriptions*, Vol. III. no. 2220.

25. Siddha sūri of Osavālā Ca. and Siddha sūri of Jālaurā Ca., both from Broach, are noteworthy; one of them may be identical with the author of a vṛtti on Pravacanasāroddhāra. The identification is, however, uncertain.

4.	Bhāvaḍārā C.	1.	Śrī Jinadeva sūri[26]
5.	Moḍhavasahī C.	1.	Śrī Cakreśvara sūri
6.	Khaḍāyathā (?)	1.	Śrī Jineśvara sūri[27]
7.	Lakhaṇārā C.	1.	Śrī Devacandra sūri.
8.	Haiyaurā C.	1.	Śrī Pajūna (Pradyumna) sūri[28]
9.	Jālaurā C.	1.	Naṇāvāla Śrī Siddha sūri[25]
10.	Caḍāulā. C.	1.	Koraṇṭāvāla Śrī Kakka sūri.[29]
	Ten Caityas.	11.	Caityavāsī ācāryas.

In *Āśāpallī* there was one Caitya—Udayanavihāra (built by Udayana, the minister of Kumārapāla)—where lived Deva sūri and Āmadeva sūri.

In *Dhavalakka*, Jālaurā Caitya with Sīhadatta sūri.

In *Cambay*, Stambhana-Pārśvanātha Caitya and Mallavādi sūri.

In *Vaṭapadraka* or Baroda, Kauḍīvasahī Caitya and Guṇasena sūri.[30]

Thus Pāṭaṇ and Broach were two great centres of Caityavāsīs.

But as many as eleven great Vasativāsī ācāryas from Pāṭaṇ were also delegated to the Council, amongst whom were Vijayasena[31] sūri, the teacher of Vastupāla, Maṇikyacandra, the pupil of Maladhārī Naracandra sūri and others noted above. It is difficult to identify the various monks mentioned here.[32] Candraprabha sūri, the pupil of Dharmaghoṣa sūri came from Karaḍihaṭṭikā (modern Karheḍā ?) Muniratna sūri from Cambay, Ratnaprabha from Bhālija or Bhāleja which may be modern Bhālej in Ānanda Tāluka, Kheḍā district ; Govinda sūri from Naḍiāudra, i.e. modern Naḍiād in Kheḍā district. From Dhavalakkaka or Dholkā in Saurāṣṭra (the chief town of Mahārāṇaka Lūṇapasāja and his sons) came five Vasativāsi ācāryas. Tilakaprabha sūri came from Āśāpallī. Nemī sūri and Māṇadeva

26. Not identified, but cf. Nāhar, Jaina Inscriptions, vol. II, no. 1949, p. 240.

27. A Jineśvara sūri was teacher of Pūrṇakalaśa, author of Prakrit-Dvyāśrayavṛtti and of Lakṣmītilaka, the author of Pratyeka-Buddha-Caritra (V.S. 1311).

28. Possibly the author of Samarāditya kathā-saṃkṣepa (V.S. 1324), see, Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

29. Possibly identical with Kakka sūri of Koraṇṭa gaccha, in Nahar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, no. 2080, p. 276.

30. For geneology of Vijayasena, see Praśasti of Udayaprabha's Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya (ed. by Muni Śrī Puṇyavijaya, Simghi Series), and Sāṇḍesarā, Literary Circle of Vastupāla, pp. 69 ff.

31. The titles Kāṭhavīṭhīya Śrī Vijayasimha sūri or Chatrāulā Śrī Devaprabha should be taken to suggest that Vijayasimha was specially associated with Kāṭhavīṭhī (?) and Devaprabha with Chatrāulā. Both these may be place names, Chatraulā = modern Chatrāl ?

Kāṭhavīṭhiya Vardhamāna sūri is possibly identical with the monk of this name mentioned in Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana, 5.13. Varddhamāna sūri, the author of Vāsupujya caritra, was a pupil of Vijayasimha of Nāgendra gaccha, Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

32. Cf. प्राचीनलेखसंग्रह ed. by Vijaya Dharma Sūri, Vol. I. no. 36, p. 11, bronze installed by Guṇasena sūri of Nāgendra gaccha, in V. S. 1202. The Kauḍivasahī reminds us of Kapar ddī, the well-known Jaina Minister of Kumārapāla. Was the shrine built by and named after this Kapparddī (cf. Udayanavihāra at Āśāpallī).

sūri came from Vāmansthalī or modern Vanthalī in Saurāṣṭra. Dharmacandra sūri came from Śrī Devapattana or Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ, Candraprabha sūri from Dhandhukkaka or modern Dhandhūkā in Saurāṣṭra; Jayasimha sūri[33] and Haribhadra sūri[34] from Śrī Varddhamāna or modern Wadhawāṇ, Bālacandra sūri from Maṇḍalī is the same as the author of *Vasantavilāsa-mahākāvya* (published in G.O.S.). Maṇḍalī is identified by Dr. Sandesara with modern Māṇḍal in Saurāṣṭra.

Of the various Jaina laymen attending the Conference only a few can be identified at present; of these, Vastupāla's younger brother Tejapāla, and Jayatasīha, the son of Vastupāla, are well known. The rest are not identified.

Madana, the son of Maham. Ṭhakkur Jayatā, who wrote the document in the Śāsana-paṭṭikā may or may not be the poet Madana, a contemporary of Vastupāla and a rival of poet Harihara (see Sāṇḍesarā, *op. cit.*, para 132, pp, 81-82). Another Madana, mentioned in our record, was the son of Rājasīha, from Āśāpalli, but he has less claim over such an identification whereas Madana, the writer of the Śāsana-paṭṭikā, must have been a learned man.

This record shows the extent to which degeneration had set in the Jaina Church when Caityavāsī monks not only procreated children but made them Ācāryas when the latter grew up. The lists of various ācāryas of Caityavāsī and Vasativāsī groups make it clear that even though there were big Caityavāsī strongholds in Gujarāt, the Vasativāsīs were stronger and could ultimately prevail upon the Caityavāsi ācāryas (some of whom were learned and better behaved) to agree to this strict code. Though not explicitly mentioned in the document, the influence of Tejapāla must have played a great part in bringing this conference to such a successful end and this *vyavasthā* dealt perhaps a death-blow to the degenerated Caityavāsa in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra. Hence, Tejapāla and the Vasativāsī ācāryas present in the Council are thus credited with having done a great service to the cause of Śvetāmbara Jaina Church in Western Indian especially Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra.

The document is of great historical value. It shows clearly that in V.S. 1298, Tribhuvanapāla was ruling over Solaṅkī-kingdom. According to *Vicāraśreṇī*, Bhīmadeva II died in V.S. 1298. The latest known grant of Bhīma II is dated in V.S. 1296 (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI,p.205), the earliest known grant of Tribhuvanapāla is dated in V.S. 1299 Caitra Śukla 6 (*Indian Antiquary* VI, p. 208). Our record is, therefore, important in giving an earlier date of Tribhuvanapāla, namely, 1298, V.S. Phālguna vadi 14. Thus, the view held by some that Tribhuvanapāla ruled for four years may be correct.

33. He may be Kṛṣṇarsi Santāniya Jayasimha sūri who saved the Jaina Samgha from draught, in Marwar, by his miraculous powers. See, Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 400. Or is this Jayasimha sūri the same as the author of Ādinātha Caritra ? cf. Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, p. 92.

34. He may be the author of Bhuvanapaticaritra, composed in V.S. 1273.

Our record makes it quite clear that Lūṇapasāja or Lavaṇaprasāda had a son called Vīramadeva and another called Vīradhavala. Vīradhavala is called " Dvitīya Jyeṣṭasuta " which may mean that Vīradhavala was the eldest son of another wife of Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīramadeva might have been the eldest of all the sons of Lavaṇaprasāda, Virama's moher being the first wife. The expression is not quite clear, though there can be no doubt about the fact that Vīramadeva was the son of Lūṇaprasāja and that he was styled as Mahārāṇaka only, i.e. he might have been given rule over some districts by Lavaṇaprasāda. But Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavala is called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and Vīradhavala was already dead (Devāyu). It is also possible that Vīradhavala was the elder and that therefore he was made Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. It is not here necessary to refer to all earlier discussions about Vīrama being a son of Vīradhavala . It seems that Lūnapasāka of Udaipur Vaidyanātha Praśasti dated V.S. 1229 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. 18, p. 344), who was the Daṇḍanāyaka of Ajayapāla is the same as one our Lūṇapasāja. Lūṇapasāka had two sons Vīrama and Samgrāmasimha, of whom Vīrama built the shrine of Vīrameśvara (see, Durgashankara Shastri, *Gujarātano Madhyakālīna Rājput Itihāsa,* pp. 338 and 391). Who this Samgrāmsimha was is not known. A colophon at the end of a palm-leaf ms. from Jesalmere (Jeslmere Catalogue, G.O.S., p. 35) refers to a Rāṇaka Vīramadeva ruling over Vidyutpur (Vījāpur) in V.S. 1296, who must now be identified with Vīramadeva, the son of Lūṇapasāja.

Our record also shows that neither Vīradhavala nor Vastupāla were alive in V.S. 1298; it seems however that Luṇapasāja was alive.

The terms Maham, Ṭhakkur, Sāhu, Śreṣṭhi, Bhāṇḍaśālika etc. are now well-known. But attention may be drawn to a new term Deśamukhya used for Sāhu Jiṇacandra, the son of Śreṣṭi Sahadeva. Has it any relation with the later " *Deśamukha* " of the Marāṭhā rule ?

At the end of this paper ms. a few verses are added in another hand (?). They give the dates of origin of different gacchas of the Śvetāmbara Jainas. The verses are composed by one Hirāṇanda who cannot be placed earlier than the fifteenth century A.D.[35] According to these verses—

Pūrṇima gaccha	originated in	1159 V.S.
Kharatara gaccha	,, ,,	1204 V.S.
Añcala gaccha	,, ,,	1214 V.S.
Sādhu Pūnamyā gaccha	,, ,,	1236 V.S.
Āgamiyā gaccha	,, ,,	1285 V.S.
Tapā gaccha	,, ,,	1285 V.S.

35. Author of Vastupāla-rāsa, V.S. 1484, and Vidyā-vilāsa in 1485 V.S.

It will thus be seen that this council and its resolutions are an important milestone in the history of Śvetāmbara Jaina Church in Western India. The find of this transcript has brought to light another inscription of the age of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. It has also thrown light on the relations of Virama, Vīradhavala and Lavaṇaprasād, besides giving us valuable data of several Jaina shrines in Gujarat, as also a long list of Jaina monks who were leaders of the Saṅgha. The record is certainly of immense value for those who would reconstruct the history of Caityavāsa in Jainism.[36]

The Manuscript reads as follows :—

Folio 1 a.

Line 1. ॥ॐ॥ संवत १२९८ वर्षे । फाल्गुन वदि १४ रवौ । अद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके । समस्त-राजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराज श्रीतिहुअणपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये । तन्नियुक्तमहामा-त्यदंड० श्रीताते ।श्री॥

Line 2. श्रीकरणादिमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयति सति । तत्प्रसादात् गूर्ज्जरधरापाभार[37]धौरेयचौलुक्य-वंशोद्भवमहामंडलेश्वराधिपति राण० लूणपसाजदेव तथा सुत महाराणक श्रीवीरमदेव तथा द्वितीय ज्येष्टसुतम–

Line 3. हाराण० श्रीवीरधवलदेवायुसुतमहामंडलेश्वरराणकश्रीवीसलदेवैः पंचालदेशखेटकाधारदेशवाला-कदेशसुराष्ट्रादेशधंधुक्कदेशधवलक्ककदेशलाटदेशप्रभृतिदेशेषु पत्तलया भुज्यमानेषु । श्रीमदण–

Line 4. हिल्लपत्तपत्तनमध्ये । श्रीसांपावसहीचैत्ये थारापद्रगच्छीय आचार्यश्रीसर्व्वदेवसूरि तथा द्वितीय श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरि श्रीअरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये ब्रह्माणगच्छीय श्रीशीलगुणसूरि । वायडवसही चैत्ये श्रीजीवदेवसूरि । पं–

Line 5- चासराचैत्ये श्रीदेवचंद्रसूरि । जालिहराचैत्ये श्रीविमलचंद्रसूरि । वृतवसहिकाचैत्ये श्रीआम-देवसूरि । लोलाउत्राचैत्ये श्रीनागेन्द्रसूरि । संडराचैत्ये श्रीशांतिसूरि । तथा भृगुकच्छेत्य श्रीशकुनिकाविहारचैत्ये श्री–

Line 6. जयसिंहसूरि । ओसवालचैत्ये श्रीदेवगुप्तसूरि । तथा द्वितीय श्रीसिद्धसूरि । भावडाराचैत्ये श्रीजिणदेवसूरि । मोढवसहीचैत्ये श्रीचत्रेश्वरसूरि । भरुअछाचैत्ये श्रीआणंदसूरि । खडायथा श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि । लखणा–

Line 7. राचैत्ये श्रीदेवचंद्रसूरि । हैयउराचैत्ये श्रीपजूनसूरि । जालउराचैत्ये नाणावाल श्रीसिद्धसूरि । चडाउलाचैत्ये कोरंटावाल श्रीकक्कसूरि । तथा आशापल्यां श्रीउदयनविहारचैत्ये श्रीदेवसूरि । तथा श्री आ–

Line 8. मदेवसूरि । धवलक्कके जालउराचैत्ये श्रीसिहदत्तसूरि । स्तंभनकश्रीपार्श्वनाथचैत्ये श्रीमल्ल-वादिसूरि । श्रीवटपद्रके कउडीवसहीचैत्ये श्रीगुणसेनसूरि । एवमेतैश्चैत्यवासिभिराचार्यैः । तथा वसतिवासि–

36. A transcript and a photograph of this page are attached herewith.

37. Should be प्राग्भार

Line 9. आचार्य श्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यश्रीविजयसेनसूरि । मलधारि श्रीनरचंद्रसूरिशिष्यश्रीमाणिक्यचंद्रसूरि । राजगुरु श्रीहेमसूरिसंताने श्रीमेरुप्रभसरि । वादिश्रीदेवसूरिगच्छे श्रीदेवेन्द्रसूरिशिष्य हेमप्रभ–

Line 10. सूरि । तथा श्रीअभयदेवसूरिशिष्यश्रीमदनचंद्रसूरि । श्री देवभद्रसूरिसंताने श्री अमरचन्द्रसूरि । काठवीठीय श्रीविजयसिंहसूरिशिष्यश्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि । श्रीधर्म्मघोषसूरिसंताने श्रीआणंदसूरि । श्रीनेमिचंद्र–

Line 11. सूरिशिष्य श्रीमाणिक्यसूरि । चैत्रावालश्रीशांतिसूरिसंताने श्रीयशोदेवसूरि । नवांगवृत्तिकारश्रीअभयदेवसूरिसंताने छत्राउलाश्रीदेवप्रभसूरिशिष्य श्रीपद्मप्रभसूरि । करडिहट्टिकामध्येश्रीधर्म्मघो—

Line 12. षसूरिशिष्यश्रीचंद्रप्रभसूरि । तथा श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे श्रीमुनिचंद्रसूरिशिष्यश्रीमुनिरत्नसूरि । तथा भालिजेत्य श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरिशिष्यश्रीरत्नप्रभसूरि । नडियाउद्रग्रामे श्रीगोविन्दसूरि । धवलक्ककम–

Line 13. ध्येत्य श्रीधर्मघोषसूरि श्रीधनेश्वरसूरिशिष्यश्रीपद्मचंद्रसूरि । श्रीधर्म्मसूरिशिष्यश्रीधनेश्वरसूरि । श्रीमुनिरत्नसूरिशिष्यश्रीकनकसूरि । श्री पुरुषोत्तमसूरि । आशापल्ल्यां श्रीमलयसूरिसंता–

Line 14. ने श्रीतिलकप्रभसूरि । श्रीवामनस्थल्यां श्रीनेमिसूरि तथा श्रीमाणदेवसूरि । श्रीदेवपत्तने श्रीधर्म्मचंद्रसूरि । वंधुक्कके श्रीचंद्रप्रभसूरि । श्रीवर्द्धमाने श्रीजयसिंहसूरि । श्रीहरिभद्रसूरि मंडल्यांश्री–

Line 15. बालचंद्रसूरि तथा यशोभद्रसूरिप्रभृतिवसतिवासिभिराचार्यैः एवं नागेन्द्रचन्द्रनिर्वृतिविद्याधराभिधानगच्छचतुष्टयप्रतिवद्धैः सर्वैरप्याचार्यैर्म्मिलित्वा समवायेन श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्य महं श्रीरत्नपा–

Line 16. लसुत ठ० श्रीलाषणपालण । महं श्रीधणपालसुत महं गुणपाल ठ० श्री आसराजसुत महं श्रीवस्तुपालानुज महं० तेजपाल श्रीवस्तुपालसुत महं श्री जयतसीह । श्रेष्टि सोमेश्वरदेवसुत ठ० श्री–

Line 17. आसपालदेवसा ठ० श्रीश्रीचंद्रसुत ठ० श्रीराजसाह (or सीह) खडायथज्ञातीय ठ० श्रीआल्हणसत्क प्रपौत्र ठ० सामंतसीह । श्रे० वर्द्धमानसुत श्रे० वीरपाल । देशमुख्य श्रे० सहदेवसुत साहु जिणचंद्र । भांड–

Line 18. शालिक आसासुत भां० आभड । धवलक्ककेत्य श्रे० भोजासुत श्रे० खेतल श्रे० महिपालसुत श्रे० रतन श्रे० वीजासुत श्रे० वीकल श्रे० लूणिगगोत्र श्रे० पद्मचंद्र । आशापल्यां श्रे० छाडाउत्र ठ० वीहूसुत

Line 19. भीम श्रे० राजसीहसुत श्रे० महं मदन । स्तंभतीर्थीय श्रे० रामदेवउत्र श्रे० मयधर श्रे० वयरसीहउत्र श्रे० जयता श्रे० सं० धीरणसुत सामंत भां० बाहडपुत्रपातासुत भां० आसपाल भां० जसवीरसुत भां० सोभित

Line 20. भां० धारप्रभृतिसनामसमस्तश्रावकाणां तथा साधुसाध्वीश्रावकश्राविकालक्षणचतुर्विधश्रीसंघस्य च समक्षं जैनदर्शनाचारस्य औचित्येन विचारं विधाय कृतनिर्णयो यथा । यत् गूर्ज्जरधरायां सुराष्ट्रा–

Line 21. कच्छमरुमंडललाट,देशादिदेशेषुच राजमुक्तौ वृद्धसामंतानां लघुसामंतानां च भुक्तौ वर्त्तमान श्रीपत्तनपुरनगराधिष्टानवेलाकूलग्रामाकरेषु। श्री शत्रुंजयरैवतकार्बुदादिगिरिशिखरे–

Folio 1 b.

Line 1. षु च संतिष्टमानार्हच्चैत्येषु पूर्वक्रमेण चैत्यवासिनो वसतिवासिनश्च आचार्योपाध्यायपंडितादयो ये वर्त्तंते तेषां मध्यात् ये केचिन्निजदुःकर्म्मदोषेण ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतं विलुप्य कयापि रीत्या पुत्रपुत्रि–

Line 2. कादीन्यपत्यानि जनयंति। तेषां जातापत्यानां तज्जनकैराचार्यपंडितादिभिश्चैत्यवासिभिर्वसतिवासिभिश्च अतीत सं० ९४ वर्षपूर्व्वं आचार्यपदस्थापना न कार्या न कारयितव्या च। अन्यत् उप–

Line 3. रि आलापितसंवत्सरदिवसादारभ सर्व्वकालं स्वयं परेण वा कृत्वा तेषां विक्लवजातापत्यानां कदापि दीक्षापि न दातव्या न दापनीयाच। आचार्यपदस्थापना न कार्या न कारयितव्या च। अन्यत् तैर्जा–

Line 4. तापत्यैः स्वयमेव जैनयतिवेषो न वरणीयः। एतां चैत्यवासिभिर्वसतिवासिभिश्च गच्छाचार्यैर्जिनशासनस्य औचित्येन विहितव्यवस्थां यः कोपि अतिक्रामति स व्यवस्थालोपकारी भणित्वा संघबा–

Line 5. ह्योऽपांक्तेयश्च सन् सर्व्वैरप्याचार्यैः श्रावकैश्च सर्व्वथा वर्ज्जनीयः स्थानकान्निर्वासनीयश्च। अन्यत् यो यत्र पत्तननगरग्रामादिस्थाने एतां विहितव्यवस्थां लुंपति। तस्य स्थानस्य प्रतिष्ठित आचार्या–

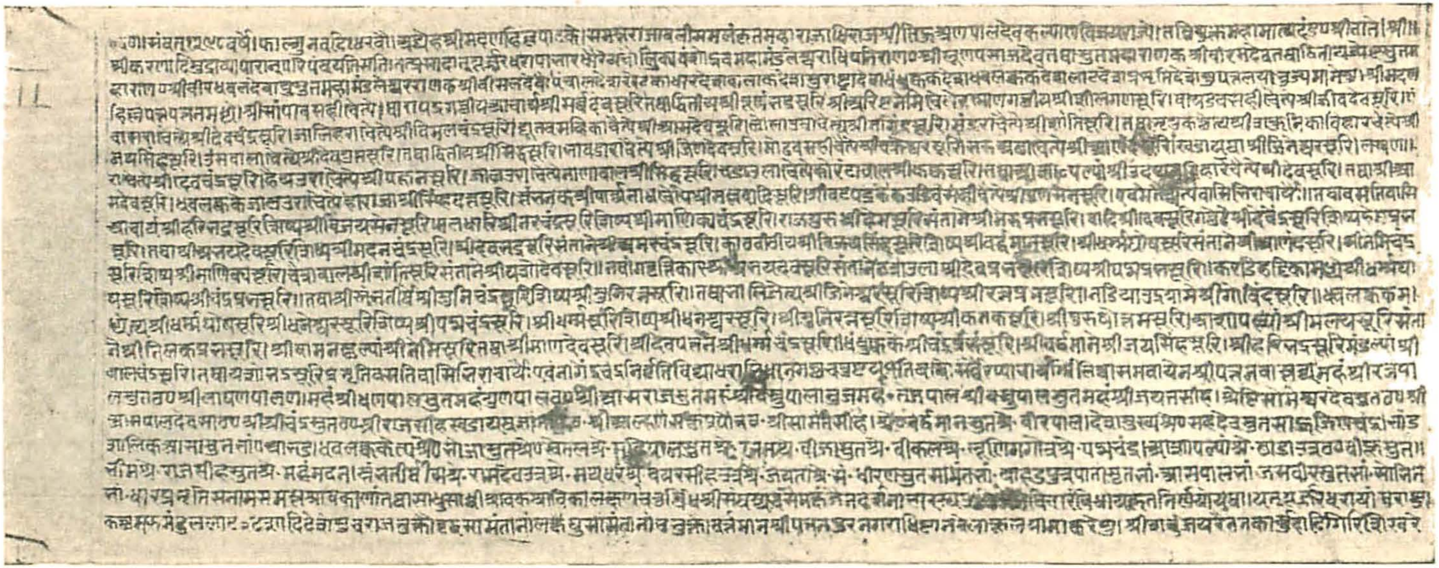
Line 6. दिना श्रावकैश्च तस्य तस्य व्यवस्थालोपकारिणोऽन्यायिनः सपरिभवं स्थानकान्निर्व्वास्यमानस्य कापि अश्लाघात्यतिकारशंका[38] स्वमनसि न कार्या। अन्यायिनां निष्काशयतां तेषां कोपि दो–

Line 7. षो जनापवादश्च न हि। अयमर्थश्चतुर्विधश्रीसंघेन मिलित्वा सर्वेषां संमतेन सम्यग्निर्णीतः। एवं संघेन विहितव्यवस्थालोपकारी भणित्वा स्थानकान्निर्व्वास्यमानः सन् यः कोपि कायव्रतादिकां करोति स–

Line 8. श्वानगर्द्दभचांडालोभूत्वा म्रियते। इमां व्यवस्थां अनुपालयद्भिः सर्व्वैरपि जिनमतानुसारिभिस्तथा प्रयतितव्यं। यथा श्रीसर्वज्ञशासनस्य महती तेजोवृद्धिः सुतरां संपद्यते। श्रीवस्तुपालानुजतेजपा–

Line 9. लमंत्रीश्वरः शासनपट्टिकायां। इमां कृति संघकृतव्यवस्थामलेखयल्लेखगुरुप्रवीणः ॥ १ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय महं ठ० जयतासुत ठ० मदनेन प्रशस्तिपट्टिका लिखिता ॥ सूत्रधार सहदेव–उत्र० सूत्र० वल्हासु–

38. Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji has suggested a reading अश्लाघा व्यतिकरशंका. व्यतिकर = reciprocal action, hindrance.



Folio 1a

छवसंतिष्टमानादीक्षेतेषुपूर्वक्रमेणचैत्यवासिनोवसतिवासिनश्चाचार्योपाध्यायपंडितादयोयेवर्त्तते।तेष्वांमध्यात्येकेचिद्भिन्नः कर्मोद्रोषेण ब्रह्म वर्येव्रतं विलुप्य कुत्थापिरीत्या पुत्रपुत्रि कादीन्नुत्पाद्यैनं नयंति।तथामातापित्रांतत्रज्ञानकेराचार्यपंडितादिनिस्थत्यवासिनिर्वसतिवासिनिस्थ अतीतसे-पअव्वर्षप्रदीश्राचार्यपदस्थापनानकार्यानकांरयितव्या।चाअन्यत उ रिआलापितमंवअमत्दिवस्मादाःसमस्तकालंच्युर्यपूरेणयाकृद्वातेजीविकुवृत्ताततायापांनांकदापिदीक्षापिनदातव्या।नदापनीयाच।आचार्यपदस्थापनाभकायांनकारयितव्यावा।अन्यत्तनैज्ञ तापत्यस्य यमवजेनयतिवर्षांतश्चरणीअ।पतोंचैत्यवासिनिर्वसतिवासिनिस्ट स्थाचार्ये जिनशासनस्य अवित्येन विहितस्य चांयाकोपिअतिकामतिसश्यवस्थालोपकारीननिवाभंपवा स्पापंक्तेयस्मसन्रूसोर्बरयाचार्येःश्रावकेश्चसर्वथावर्जनीयःश्राद्धकाभिर्बासतेयन।अस्यव्यवस्थायत्रपत्रनगरग्रामादिष्ठानेपत्रोविदितस्यवस्थोदेयति।तम्बाचानसूप्रतिस्थितस्थावा दिनाश्रावकेश्चतच्छतस्यव्यवस्थालोपकारिलोभ्यादिनस्मपरिसवेस्थानकाद्भिहाम्यमानव्यकापिअस्सायात्पतिकारणकाचमनमिनकार्या।अन्यादिनोनिष्कासयिनायतांतथाकोपि योऽभापुनादस्थानहि।अयमर्थरस्थवर्षिधर्मेसंघेन मिलित्वासर्वेषांमंमतेनसम्यगनिर्लोतः।एवंसंघेनविहितव्यवस्थालोपकारीत्तणिवाचातकान्निर्वाम्यमानमस्यकोपिकोयदतादिकांकात्यतिर आसगर्हवचांडालोदृष्टाविधेयतेइमांव्यवस्थांअनुपालीयद्भिःसर्वैरपिजिनमतानुसारिभिस्तवधानवीतव्यं।यथाश्रीसर्वज्ञशासनस्यमहतीतेजोवृद्धिरुत्तरोत्तरं संपद्यते॥ श्रीवस्तुपालानुज्ञातेजःपा लमंत्रीश्वरःशासनपट्टिकायां।श्रांहतीसंघकृतव्यवस्थामलेखयत्सरखयुकप्रवीणः॥ श्राद्धादज्ञातीयमहं व नयतासुतठ मदनेनप्रशस्तिपट्टिका लिखिता॥ सूत्रधारसल्देवसुतसूत्र वस्तु तसुत माल्हणेनप्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा॥मंगलंमहाश्रीः दिविद्या॥इयंतुर्विधदर्शनस्तत्थव्यवस्था श्रीशत्रुंजयमहातीर्थस्थविंशतितमजिनालयंप्रथममंडपेअलिखिता स्ति।ततआनीयात्रलिखिते ण्यवहारज्ञानार्थंमिति॥ एषावृहत्कल्प्याराम श्रीमविजयस्य।नारवउतरवसीमहम्रावरातरपरिवलियउ।श्रुवलवाहदिसानवाद्वचउदाविकाणंक।नारठतीमहगछसापूझनंतरवा दलेआमलियासंवतवारसुरिपंदामदवदविजेभस्यातिमतयांकरपंन्या।सिवअहीराणंदसहजस्त्रः॥१

Folio.1b

Line 10. त सूत्र० साल्हणेन प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः देहि विद्यां ॥ इयं चतुर्विधदर्शन-कृताव्यवस्था श्रीशत्रुंजयमहातीर्थद्वाविंशतिलोप्य (लेप्य) जिनानां प्रथमप्रवेशे लिखितास्ति। तत आनीयात्र लिलिखे

Line 11. व्यवहारज्ञानार्थमिति ॥

॥ एगुणसट्ठिइग्यार गच्छ पुन्निम वित्थरिउ।
बारचडोतरवरसि गच्छ खरतर परिवरियउ।
अंचल गच्छ विसाल बारचउदोतर जाणउं।

*Line 12. बारछतीसइ गच्छ साधु पूनम्या वखाणउं।
आगमिया संवतबारघुरिपंचासइ पुहविइं सरइ।
तिम तपा बारपंच्यासियइ हीराणंद समुच्चरइ ॥ १ ॥

NOTES AND QUERIES:

(1)

What is Pherurājagṛha?

In the *Nāradīya-purāṇa* (uttarārdha, chap. 80) it is said that the sage Nārada once went to the hermitage of Vṛndā, who by her yogic power knew that Nārada desired to know the mystery about the Lord of Gopīs. Vṛndā asked her friend Mādhavī to satisfy the curiosity of Nārada with the words,[1] "The hermitage of the person who cannot accomplish what is dear to the guest that comes to the hermitage is useless, as it resembles 'pherurājagṛha' (the palace of Pheru)."

What is Pherurājagṛha? Is there any reference to the Pyramids of the Pharaohs of Egypt? Pheru is said to mean 'jackal,' but that meaning would not suit the context.

P. V. KANE

1. The verse is : स्वाश्रमं ह्यागतस्यैव यो न संपादयेत् प्रियम् ।
निष्फलो ह्याश्रमस्तस्य फेरुराजगृहोपमः ॥
Nārada (uttarārdha, 80.21. Shri Venkateshwar Press Ed.)

(2)

Aśokatīrtha at Śūrpāraka

In the Āraṇyakaparva (Vanaparva) of the *Mahābhārata*, it is narrated in chap. 118 that Pāṇḍavas came to Śūrpāraka (v. 8) and thereafter journeying over some distance from the sea saw the *Vedī* (sacrificial altar) of Jamadagni (v. 10) and after bathing at several tīrthas again came to Śūrpāraka and then went to Prabhāsa (vv. 14-15). In chap. 85 of the same parva describing the pilgrimage of Dhaumya, reference is made to the river Payoṣṇī (v. 40), then to Daṇḍakā forest (v. 41) to the hermitage of Śarabhaṅga (v. 42) and then to Śūrpāraka (once) resorted to by Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) and to Rāmatīrtha (v. 43). In chap. 88[1] of the same parva reference is made to the charming Vedī

1. All the references are to the Chitrashala edition of the *Mahābhārata*. All the verses of chap. 118 of Āraṇyakaparva referred to above occur in the Cri. ed. of the parva in

of Jamadagni, having a stone flight of steps and to Aśokatīrtha there with many hermitages. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 49 vv. 66 ff.) it is said that after Paraśurāma made a gift of the earth to Kaśyapa, the sage, asked Paraśurāma not to reside in the lands donated, that the ocean created for him the country of Śūrpāraka which is at the bottom of Aparānta.

The question is: Why and when the tīrtha was called Aśokatīrtha. The 7th edict of emperor Aśoka was found at Sopara long ago. Recently the first half of the 9th edict has been discovered by Shri N. A Gore near the same place (at Bhuigaon, Taluka Bassein). It is not unlikely that the tīrtha was named after Aśoka. If that be the case, this part of the Vanaparva would have to be placed after 200 B.C.

P. V. KANE

---

chap. 118; similarly verses of chap. 85 mentioned in this communication occur in chap. 83 of the Cri. ed. and the verses from chap. 88 occur in the Cri. ed. in chap. 86. The verses are :

वेदी शूर्पारके तात जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः ।
रम्या पाषाणतीर्थाच पुनश्चन्द्रा (पुरश्चन्द्रा in Cri. ed.) च भारत ॥
अशोकतीर्थं तत्रैव (मर्त्येषु in Cri. ed.) कौन्तेय बहुलाश्रमम् ॥

Mbh. III. 88, 12-13 (Cri. ed. 85, 9-10)

The meaning of पुनश्चन्द्रा or पुरश्चन्द्रा is rather enigmatic.

Monograph No. 4

TO BE OUT BEFORE THE END OF MAY 1957.

ON THE MEANING OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Being four lectures of which only three were actually delivered under the auspices of the University of Bombay in 1942

By

The late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR,
M.A., Ph.D.,
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

These lectures have never appeared in print before

Pages about 180. **Price Rs. 10/-, Postage extra** Size Demy 8 vo.

Printed by V. G. Moghe, B.A., at the Bombay University Press, Fort, Bombay 1 and Published by Prof. G. C. Jhala, M.A., Honorary Secretary for the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay 1. 15-5-57.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

(Formerly the B.B.R.A. Society)

PUBLICATIOS FOR SALE

JOURNALS (Old Series)

Volumes	*Nos.*	*Year*		*Price* Rs. nP	*Volumes*	*Nos.*	*Year*		*Price* Rs. nP
I and II	1-11	1841-47	each	10 0	XXII	60-62	1904-07	each	10 0
III and IV	12-17	1847-52	,,	10 0	XXIII	63-67	1908-13	,,	10 0
V to XIX	18-53	1853-97	,,	10 0	XXIV	68-70	1914-17	,,	10 0
XX to XXI	54-59	1897-03	,,	10 0	XXV to XXVI	71-75	1917-28	,,	10 0

(Nos. 9, 11, 13, 17-28, 31-32, 34, 43, 47-51, 56, 58, 59 and 73 out of stock)

NEW SERIES

Volumes	*Nos.*	*Year*	Rs. nP	*Volumes*	*Nos.*	*Year*	Rs. nP
I	1 & 2	1925 ...	... 12 50	XVI		1940 ...	... 10 0
II	,,	1926 ...	... 10 0	XVII		1941 ...	... 7 50
III	,,	1927 ...	... 15 0	XVIII		1942 ...	... 10 0
IV	,,	1928 ...	... 10 0	XIX		1943 ...	... 12 50
V	,,	1929 ...	... 7 50	XX		1944 ...	... 15 0
VI	,,	1930 ...	... 15 0	XXI		1945 ...	... 7 50
VII-VIII	,,	1931-32 each	7 50	XXII		1946 ...	... 12 50
IX-XI		1933-35 ,,	10 0	XXIII		1947 ...	... 10 0
XII		1936	... 15 0	XXIV-XXV		1948-49 each	17 50
XIII		1937	... 7 50	XXVI	1 & 2	1950-51	... 20 0
XIV		1938	... 10 0	XXVII, 1, 2 & Supp.		1951-52	... 25 0
XV		1939	... 7 50	XXVIII	1 & 2	1953 ...	... 20 0
				XXIX	1 & 2	1954 ...	... 20 0

EXTRA NUMBERS AND MONOGRAPHS

	Rs. nP
Folklore Notes compiled and edited by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S., from materials collected by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., 2 Vols.—*(Vol.I-Gujarat), (Vol. II Konkan). Each volume ...	3 0
Buddhaghoṣa. By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. (B.B.R.A. Society's Monograph No. 1) ...	6 0
Some Jain Canonical Sūtras. By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. (B.B.R.A. Society's Monograph, No. 2)	15 0
Yoga-Yājñavalkya ; ed. by Sri P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M. (B.B.R.A. Society's Monograph No. 3) ...	5 0

CATALOGUES OF THE LIBRARY

	Rs. nP
Complete Catalogue of the Library—	
Part I—Authors, up to the end of 1915	7 0
Part II—Subjects, up to the end of 1917	9 0
Two volumes in one order ...	14 0
Yearly catalogues of the Library of the B.B.R.A. Society 1923-1944 each	0 50
Do. do. 1946-47 each ...	1 0
Do. do. 1948-53 each ...	2 0
Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Society. Compiled by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Vol. I Scientific Literature	5 0
Vol. II : Hindu Literature ...	8 0
Vols. III-IV : Jain and Vernacular Literature	4 0

BOMBAY GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

	Rs. nP
Proceedings, Bombay Geographical Society, 1837 to 1840 each ...	10 0
Transactions, Vols. VI-X, 1841-1852 each year	10 0
Do. Vols. XI-XIX, 1852-1873 each year	10 0
Index to the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, Vols. I to XVII, with Catalogue of the Library. By D. J. Kennely, Hon. Secretary	10 0

* Out of Stock.

N.B.—*This price list cancels all previous sistl.*